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Vol. 14.

NOVEMBER, 1895.

No. 3.

"We do not take possession of our ideas but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

# The ARENA

EDITED BY

B. O. FLOWER.

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PIERCE BUILDING, COPLEY SQUARE.

LONDON AGENTS:—Gay & Bird, 5 Chandos Street, Strand, London, W. C.  
PARIS:—Brentano's, 17 Avenue de l'Opera; The Galignani Library, 224 Rue de Rivoli.

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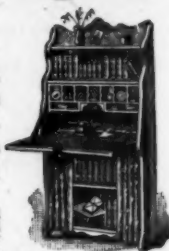
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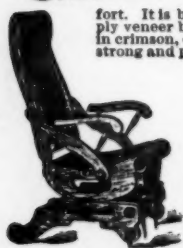
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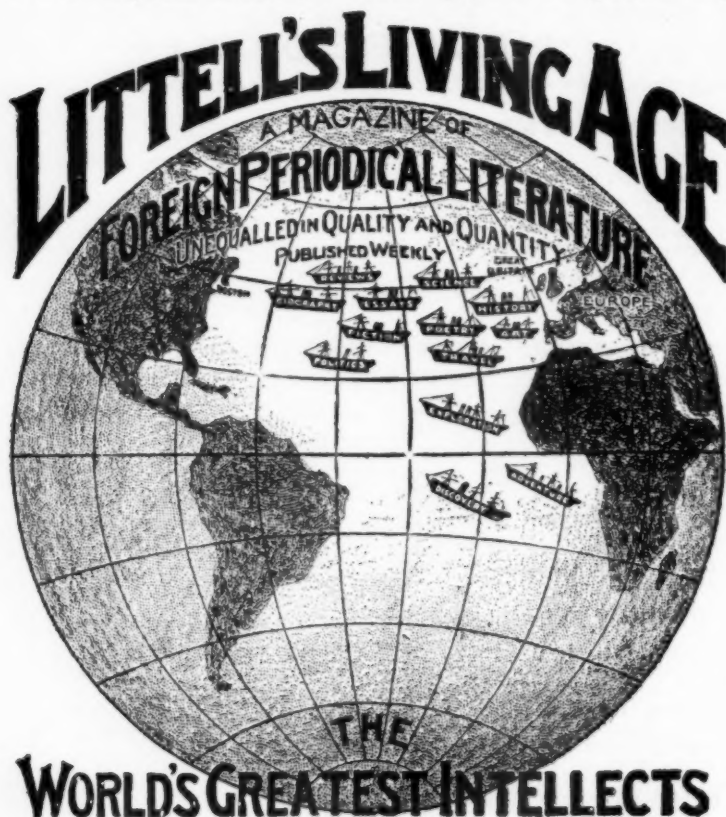
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I take great pleasure in announcing that the *Arena Publishing Company* has in press a book of short stories by the popular Tennessee author, Will Allen Dromgoole, entitled "The Heart of Old Hickory, And Other Stories of Tennessee," embracing eight stories, as follows:

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## THE WORLD OF BOOKS.

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*A Manuscript Story of the New South, Dealing with the Negro Problem, by a Southern Woman—Glimpses of Africa by an Afro-American—Samanthy among the Colored Folks—Ribot's Disease of Personality—Ethan Allen's Drama of the Revolution—The Laws of Social Evolution, by Rev. F. M. Sprague—The Essential Man, by George C. Cressey, Ph. D.—The Christian Consciousness: Its Relation to Evolution in Morals and in Doctrine, by J. S. Black—The Passing of Alix, by Mrs. Marjorie Paul—On the Point, by Nathan Haskell Dole—The Cultivators Hand-Book on Universal or Planetary Law, by L. Chadwick—Sexuality of Nature.*

I have recently enjoyed the privilege of reading the manuscript of a story of southern life, dealing chiefly with the negro problem as seen by a broad-minded, fine-natured young woman of the New South. It is a work which when published will, I believe, accomplish much good by giving thinking men and women of the North, who are less slaves of prejudice than lovers of truth, a view of this momentous problem from an entirely new angle. The writer treats the subject with great breadth of spirit and in the manner of one who is at once just and thoughtful. Being a strong Southerner, the daughter of parents who owned slaves before the war, she deals with the question from the southern point of view. But her love of justice and her noble womanhood enable her to rise above partisanship and the bitterness which too often marks the works of writers of both sections who attempt to discuss the subject. I question, however, whether she has fully grasped the tremendous nature of the problem or the logical sequence of either the mistake of giving an ignorant and newly emancipated race the ballot or of forcing this race into practical disfranchisement. The vote of an ignorant people is a menace to any government. The denial of the franchise to those who are intelligent or morally and mentally developed is a crime against freedom and justice.

Only a few days after I had finished reading my young friend's story dealing with the negro question from the point of view of a broad-minded and scholarly Southern lady, I received Rev. C. C. Smith's new work, "Glimpses of Africa" (published by the A. M. E. Church Sunday School Union, of Nashville, Tenn., illustrated with over seventy photogravures taken by native artists and containing three maps; cloth, stamped in black and gold; price \$1.25. This volume contains an introduction by Bishop Turner, and having been written by the secretary and treasurer of the Sunday School Union of the A. M. E. Church, is of particular interest, especially as coming from a colored gentleman who had personally visited the western coast of Africa, largely for the purpose of seeing if there was a favorable opening for the employment of the skill and energy of intelligent and industrious young Americans of African descent.

Mr. Smith went to Africa believing that there he would find a land where a great and glorious republic might be established for the Afro-Americans. But on this point he seems to have materially changed his mind. He reports that all along the coast the cities and towns are overrun with professional men and clerks; that there is a splendid field for industrious agriculturists, but not for educators or professional men in general, or for clerks or those doing work

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## POLITICS FOR PRUDENT PEOPLE.

Ready in October.

By **SLACK WORTHINGTON.**

*Cloth, \$1.00, paper, 50 cents.*

This book is a revision and abridgment with important alterations of a work on Phonocracy which the author published several years ago. The author aims to establish the propositions that "mankind can be substantially benefited only by the increased production and conservation of wealth"; that "wealth is necessary to the progress of civilization"; and that "mankind is benefited by wealth, if it be reinvested and not consumed, whosoever owns it." The subjects of taxation, franchise, currency, and the powers of the Federal Government receive thoughtful treatment. The book is a substantial contribution to the literature that deals with legislative and governmental problems.

## NICODEMUS.

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By **GRACE SHAW DUFF.**

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A short poem in which Nicodemus describes the impression made upon him by Jesus on "that last great day of the feast; when the golden glory of a rising sun decked roof and dome, and edged with lustrous line the gently swaying palms." Of the effect of the words of Jesus he says:

"When He spoke, his words  
And voice seemed fitted parts of some great psalm."

And of His look:

"But as He turned  
I looked again into His eyes, and in  
Their depths my soul met His — and then I knew  
In very truth — He was the Son of God."

## BEAUTY FOR ASHES.

Ready in October.

By **KATE CLARK BROWN.**

*Cloth, 75 cents; paper 25 cents.*

"What becomes of the souls that do not pass through the 'pearly gates?'" This question is as old as religion. Human reason has not found a satisfactory answer, and probably most people think the question unanswerable by man; and yet men will speculate as they always have speculated upon this mystery. Our author offers a speculative solution of this profoundly mysterious problem in a story which contains passages of much pathos and dramatic power. And many a reader will be glad to be indebted to the author for an hour agreeably spent.

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other than agricultural. On the possibilities for the latter occupation, however, he observes that there is almost no limit to the demand for skilled agriculturists. Fruit farming conducted systematically at Freetown, Monrovia, Accra, Lagos, and a number of other places on the west and southwest coasts could be made highly profitable. Poultry and stock raising could also be made highly remunerative.

This work is exceedingly interesting not only as a book of travel but as illustrating the splendid possibilities inherent in the colored man. When one remembers that he is only from one to two centuries from savagery his achievements are truly remarkable. But one feels somewhat disappointed after reading the book to find that the author sees so little in Africa to encourage the aspiring Afro-American in the dream of founding on that new-old world a great republic, in which the colored man might demonstrate to the world what might be accomplished. This volume deserves wide reading. It is instructive and interesting.

Another view of this same problem is found in Marietta Holley's "Samanthy among the Colored Folks." Here, in her characteristic, quaint, homely and illiterate language, Samanthy gives the reader a vast amount of sound philosophy in her inimitable and humorous style. Perhaps the volume is too deeply shaded with the tragedies which so darkened the ill-starred reconstructive period, but on the whole the author takes a broad view. She seems to hold to the opinion that in the course of time the friction between the two races will become so great that each will desire to separate, and that a new republic will rise in Africa. In this, despite Mr. Smith's view, she may prove a prophet as well as a philosopher; for we cannot fairly judge what may be accomplished in this direction from the ill-considered and lame attempts which have hitherto been made toward civilization.

"Samanthy among the Colored Folks" deserves a wider reading than it has re-

ceived. It is excellently illustrated, and those who enjoy the inimitable Josiah Allen's Wife's works should not fail to peruse this volume (cloth; pp. 388; Dodd, Mead & Co., New York).

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"The Disease of Personality," by Prof. T. Ribot, is a work which all students of the new psychology and psychical science should read (pp. 162; cloth 75 cents; paper 25 cents; Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, Ill.). The present publication is the authorized translation of the second revised edition. One may not agree with the author in many of his conclusions, and I am frank enough to say a number of his views I do not share; nevertheless the work is worthy of careful reading, although I think he often bases his conclusions on insufficient data.

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The first volume of "Washington, or The Revolution," a drama written by Ethan Allen, a distant relative of the Revolutionary hero, has recently appeared (cloth \$1.50, paper 50 cents. Vol. I, "From the Boston Massacre to the Surrender of Burgoyne." F. T. Neely, Chicago and New York). This work is written for reading rather than acting. It brings the leading figures of the Revolution vividly before the mind of the reader, and by closely adhering to history gives a striking and most interesting story of the Revolution. I have been most agreeably surprised in this volume, which marshals the facts of the founding of our government before the reader in such a way as to make them real, and being real in their imagery they will not be easily forgotten. But the chief charm of the work seems to me to lie in the clear manner in which the author emphasizes the great principles for which our fathers staked their all.

To-day we are surfeited with counterfeit patriotism and the hollow show without the breath of life. Our boys are being drilled for soldiers at a time when the sword should be beaten into the ploughshare—and we call this pa-

# BOOKS

*From the press of the Arena Publishing Company.*

## POEMS.

By **EDWIN BALTZLEY.**

*Cloth.*

In this beautifully printed volume we are introduced to a new aspirant for the honor of being enrolled in the small but select band of the American poets. The author is a busy man of affairs rather than a poet by profession, and he here gives us the fruit of so much of his leisure as has been devoted to literary work. He has evidently been a keen and sympathetic observer of nature, animate and inanimate, and much of the best of his work is the outcome of the impressions produced on his mind by her varying aspects and moods—by mountain and river, sky and cloud, sunshine and storm, twilight and moonlight, forest and bird. The work is appropriately divided into four parts, corresponding to the seasons: 1. Springtime: Dreamtime; 2. Summer: Awakening; 3. Autumn: Strifetide; and 4. Winter: Meditation. The two longest and most important poems, "The Conquest" and "Lamonian Vale," are cast in a dramatic form, and the latter, in its smooth and sensuous rhythm, reminds us of Tennyson's "Lotus Eaters." In "Evelyn," the narrative form is adopted with such success as to give one a reminiscence of Parnell's "Hermit." This charming volume may be recommended to the attention of all who are interested in the future of American poetry.

## OUT OF THE PAST.

*IN PRESS.*

By **E. ANSON MORE, JR.**

*Cloth, \$1.25; paper, 50 cents.*

This interesting and instructive book sets forth in the nature of an allegory, the unending conflict between good and evil. The story gives in outline the possible life of a Brahmin; his views of the conduct and duty of wives, the origin of "sute or suttee"—the burning of the wife with the corpse of her husband, and the reason for it. Thought-transference, also, is touched upon in a new and fascinating way. The story is full of incident, its descriptions are graphic, and its style is often masterly.

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triotism. The firecrackers and bunting are everywhere present on the Fourth of July; but how many boys and girls of to-day are weighing the great problems of human rights and justice and enlightenment of the soul which alone count for aught in the progress of civilization? As in politics, so in religion; vast organizations are formed, bands play, banners fly, badges decorate members, but when we urge resolutions for universal arbitration, when the plea is made to these bodies to denounce the fostering of the savage by military drills, when we urge them to oppose the brutalizing influence of vivisection, or make any other great, humane, and ennobling proposition in harmony with the Sermon on the Mount, we promptly receive the cold shoulder. Patriotism and religion to-day are too much lacking in the breath of life. Prejudice, policy, and a blind willingness to follow leaders are present where we should find principle and a deep, unflagging loyalty to justice and purity.

This history of the Revolution is valuable, as it brings home to the reader very clearly the stupendous fact that it was the broad principles of justice, freedom, and the right of humanity which made the frail little colonies invincible. This work should be in the hands of every boy and girl in the land. It should be read by parents during the long winter evenings to their children; for its elevating, aside from its instructive, character will awaken the conscience and manhood and womanhood of our people.

"The Laws of Social Evolution," by Rev. F. M. Sprague, is a criticism of Benjamin Kidd's famous "Social Evolution" (pp. 166; price \$1; Lee & Shepard, Boston). Mr. Sprague, it will be remembered, is the author of "Socialism from Genesis to Revelation."

"Social Evolution," by Benjamin Kidd, is regarded by one eminent critic as the greatest book since Darwin's "Origin of Species," and by another as a "trap for clergymen"; by one as "thoroughly scientific," and by another as misapprehending the "fundamental

laws" of science. Such a book is either difficult to understand, or occupies debatable ground. In either case a critical examination is required. This is made by Mr. Sprague, who endeavors to analyze that work which the author has found to be contrary to universally accepted principles and axiomatic truth. Mr. Sprague aims not merely to refute or explain, but also to construct, and to that end formulates a statement of the true principles which govern social progress. As the interest in this subject is increasing from day to day, this work will prove a timely addition to the controversy and be helpful to the student.

"The Essential Man: A Monograph on Personal Immortality in the Light of Reason," is the title of a new work by George C. Cressey, Ph. D. (cloth; price 75 cents; George H. Ellis, Boston). This small volume is a discussion on this subject of great value to all thoughtful investigators. Mr. Cressey observes that there is a large class of persons who in the light of modern research find it impossible to accept the claims of any assumed supernatural revelation, and who are also uninfluenced by the claims of modern spiritualism, but who are nevertheless deeply interested in the problem of immortality; and it is to such that he personally addresses his argument. Revelation and the claims of spiritualism are neither accepted nor rejected, his argument being based on reason and made to conform to the demands of modern scientific methods. The work is ably written and will challenge the attention of all thoughtful persons who are troubled with doubt as to a future existence, or who are seriously interested in the question, "If a man die shall he live again?" I am glad that so scholarly and temperate a reasoner as Mr. Cressey has discussed it.

"The Christian Consciousness: Its Relation to Evolution in Morals and in Doctrine," by J. S. Black (cloth; \$1.25; Lee & Shepard, Boston), is a new work which has just appeared dealing with

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## HILL-CREST : A Novel.

By JULIA COLLITON FLEWELLYN.

*Cloth, \$1.25; paper, 50 cents.*

Hill-Crest is the homestead of an Irish-American family, consisting of father, four motherless daughters, poor but proud, and an old maiden sister-in-law. A beautiful and fashionable young lady cousin is a disturbing element. The principal hero is an ideal young clergyman. The interest of this well-written love story centres in three love affairs that end in happy marriages. The narrative is marked by fine feeling and pervaded by a strongly religious and moral tone.

## HIS PERPETUAL ADORATION: The Captain's Old Diary.

By Rev. JOSEPH F. FLINT.

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This extremely interesting and realistic war story is told in the form of a diary left at his death by a veteran who had been a captain with Grant at Vicksburg and with Sherman on his march to the sea. Two or three of the great events of the war are told in stirring fashion, but the narrative deals mainly with the inside life of the soldier in war-time, and its physical and moral difficulties.

## THE SNOWS OF YESTER-YEAR: A Novel.

By WILBERTINE TETERS.

*Cloth, \$1.25; paper, 50 cents.*

The interest of this realistic and powerful novel of character analysis centres mainly in "the Madame," as the heroine is called throughout the story, which is written with remarkable insight into character. The incidental discussions are so original and clever that the reader's interest is held enchained from the beginning to the very end.

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religious problems. The author, in the preface, says: "The study of Christian Consciousness is in its infancy, but the study of it is an aid to the development of it. It seems strange at this end of the nineteenth century of the Christian era, that there should be an undeveloped and unused function of the Christian life; a function which not only accounts for moral and dogmatic phenomena, but also makes God more real to men."

This book is an important contribution to the development of the subject. It comes at a time of need. It deals not only with the literature that has hitherto gathered round its central theme, "The Christian Consciousness," but it also has to do with Professor Drummond's "Ascent of Man," and with Benjamin Kidd's "Social Evolution."

The placing of the "Christian Consciousness" along with the Bible, the church, and the reason as a source of authority may seem revolutionary, but by many it will be regarded as being the formal statement of a position that has to some extent been already granted. The work is strong, scholarly, and very suggestive. It is certainly in the line of religious evolution and will receive attention from a very large number of intelligent Christians who are seeking to reconcile the experience they have attained in spiritual things, with the faith of their fathers.

"The Passing of Alix," by Miss Marjorie Paul (cloth \$1.25, paper 50 cents; Arena Publishing Company, Boston), is a bright American society novel, written by one who is evidently familiar with the *beau monde* of New York and its mode of life. The heroine, *nee* Alix Bethune, is a beautiful young American girl born and brought up in Virginia. She is the daughter of a Frenchman of an old, wealthy, and noble family, who had married a young woman of Virginia and settled in that state. Alix is half an orphan, her mother having "died at the birth of her little daughter."

When Alix is seventeen her father takes her to France, and a year later, in accordance with the French custom, he

makes for her a *marriage de convenance* with the Marquis de Morier, a distinguished but dissolute member of an old family, who is apparently about twice her own age. A grand wedding takes place in Notre Dame cathedral, of which a brilliant description is given. Like a good many other marriages which begin with a grand wedding, however, that of Alix and the marquis does not turn out happily. The honeymoon is scarcely over before Alix's father dies suddenly in Paris, leaving her a \$4,000,000 heiress, and she discovers that her husband is an inveterate gambler, who has apparently married her to obtain money wherewith to pursue his favorite pastime. She accordingly at once separates from him, and returns to Virginia, where in due time an heir to her fortune and to the marquis' title is born, the marquis himself dying shortly after.

The young and beautiful widow resolves to devote the next ten years of her life to bringing up her young son, and she divides her time between her estate in Virginia and a luxurious apartment in New York; and there are pleasant descriptions of a Christmas fête in Virginia, visits to the grand opera in New York, and other incidents in the life of a young, beautiful, and immensely wealthy American widow.

She has, of course, a lover, a superb young man named Paul Volmar; and though she returns his love, she deems it her duty not to marry again till her son is ten years of age, when the wedding day is fixed. Before the marriage takes place, however, Alix is killed by a fall from her horse, and her lover is left desolate. The interest of the story is added to by certain thrilling spiritualistic experiences of the heroine, and also by some reincarnation reminiscences of herself and her lover.

This striking novel should have a wide sale among that numerous class of people who are interested in high life in New York and in the doings of society people, and also among believers in occultism, the number of whom seems to be increasing year by year.

# BOOKS

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## SOME NEW SOCIAL BOOKS.

### THE STRIKE OF A SEX.

By **GEORGE N. MILLER.**

*Price, paper, 25 cents.*

This little book dealing with the rights of women in the marriage relation has created a profound sensation on both sides of the Atlantic. It is now in its thirty-fifth edition.

Interesting from beginning to end. Married readers will regret that the scientific discovery it refers to (Zugassent's Discovery) is not explained. — *N. Y. Journalist.*

I wish every thoughtful man and woman in this republic would read it. The author has looked into the heart of woman, and with unspeakable love for both sexes has written the truth. — *Kate Field's Washington.*

### POVERTY'S FACTORY.

By **Rev. STANLEY L. KREBS, M. A.**

*Cloth, 75 cents; paper, 25 cents.*

The book is devoid of anything like prejudice against any class whatever. The author does not seem to possess an atom of that element in his being. He speaks to capitalists, laborers, citizens and clergy with uniform directness and deference. His discussion of the burning questions involved is fair and fearless, candid and courteous. He believes that reasonable and manly men are never afraid to hear the truth, however unpalatable that truth may be. He spares none; he loves all. This striking little volume should be carefully read by every clergyman, laborer, business and professional man in the country.

### THE DOUBLE MAN.

By **F. B. DOWD.**

*Cloth, \$1.25; paper, 50 cents.*

This is a story of spiritualistic phenomena and hypnotism. It is a study in the complexities of the moral nature of man and presents two startling types in contrast — the spiritually aspiring mind and the carnal and selfish mind. It shows that intellect alone cannot fill the demands of the soul. The mind and life must be spiritualized. The hero's journeyings in the spiritual world, which follow the drama as it is played out on earth, will be interesting to all who are adherents of spiritualism or students of theosophy and other occult theories.

### THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

By **A LAWYER.**

*Cloth, 75 cents; paper, 25 cents.*

This is a study of the various aspects of the movement for a larger social and political freedom for women, from the point of view of a lawyer, an orthodox Presbyterian of uncompromising literalism, and a sincere believer in the plenary inspiration of the scriptures as the word and law of God. It deals with the whole question largely from the religious and scriptural standpoint. He considers that the woman's movement reaches down to the foundations of Christianity and civilization, and opposes it on every ground. He deals successively with every phase of the matter — Marriage, Lessons from History, Divorce, Woman Suffrage and Marriage, The Day of the Pulpit, The Effects of Woman Suffrage, The Plea for Equality, Woman Suffrage in Cities, Limited Franchise, Taxation without Representation, and The Decay of Faith. As an exposition of the uncompromising orthodox view this brochure should find a wide reading among men and women of liberal opinions.

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## THE WORLD OF BOOKS.

Persons who enjoy a bright, light work of fiction which will rest the mind, and which is neither unduly exacting on the one hand nor laden with a lesson on the other, will doubtless enjoy Mr. Nathan Haskell Dole's new summer idyl, entitled "On the Point" (illustrated; pp. 252; price \$1; Joseph Knight & Co., Boston). It is a pleasant story for leisure moments. The publishers deserve credit for supplementing the author's work by producing a most attractive volume both in letterpress and binding.

L. Chadwick has published a unique volume entitled "The Cultivative Handbook on Universal or Planetary Law" (cloth; price \$1; published by the author, 27 Pine St., Chicago, Ill.). In speaking of his work the author says: "This science, which has always been considered a blind mystery, understood by comparatively few, is treated in this book in a manner as never before presented to the ordinary reader. How all the elements of the earth, including electricity, operate under the law of the universe. A plain knowledge of the Creator's laws is as essential in agriculture as it is in religion."

A new work displaying much research entitled "Sexuality of Nature" has recently been published (cloth; price 75 cents; published by the New Church Union). The *Literary World* thus describes this volume: "The object of this essay is to show that everything in creation partakes either of masculine or feminine qualities. The writer uses the word 'marriage' to denote all unions analogous to the human both in matter and spirit, and the word 'sex' to express the separate qualities by which he would divide things into two great sections

and divisions. He goes on to explain in a lofty and serious manner the functions of sex not only in animals and plants, but in inorganic matter as revealed by chemistry and in all departments of nature. Thus, water is the masculine, land the feminine element in the composition of the globe; the sun is the father and the earth is the mother of heat; in language the consonants are masculine, the vowels feminine, and so on. The symbolism here defined and the explanations of the figurative use of language in the old Grecian and Hebrew myths have a curious interest, but much of the book is fantastically drawn out."

"Edith: A Story of Chinatown," by Harry M. Johnson (cloth 75 cents; paper 25 cents) is to be the latest addition to the Beacon Library, one of the most popular series issued by the Arena Publishing Company. It is a story that grapples boldly with a crying evil. It deals with a nefarious traffic that is openly carried on under the eyes of the authorities of the city of San Francisco. It tells of the abduction and seduction of a young girl, and of her discovery by her father and mother (through the instrumentality of a young newspaper reporter) in one of the low "dives" of the Chinese quarter in San Francisco. The object of the story is to bring this condition of things to the attention of the great mass of American men and women, so that the matter may be ventilated in public discussion and remedied. The author intimates that the public exhibition of young women for hire has been an institution of Chinatown for twenty years, without any attempt having been made on the part of the people or the authorities of San Francisco, to rid the city of so great a reproach to its civilization and humanity.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Agnosticism and Religion," by George J. Lucas. Cloth; pp. 136. Published by John Murphy & Co., Baltimore, Md.

"The Lost Paradise," by Marie Welsh. Paper; pp. 252; price 25 cents. Published by the Mascot Publishing Co., 169 Sixth Ave., New York, N. Y.

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"Jacques Damour," by Emile Zola. Cloth; pp. 368; price \$1.25. Published by Copeland & Day, 69 Cornhill, Boston, Mass.

"The Land of the Muskeg," by H. Somers Somerset. Cloth; pp. 248; price \$4. Published by J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

"The Banker's Dream," by Thomas H. Proctor. Paper; pp. 231; price 25 cents. Published by Progressive Book Publishing Co., Streeter's Building, Vineland, N. J.

"A Mad Madonna," by L. Clarkson Whitelock. Cloth; pp. 203; price \$1. Published by Joseph Knight Co., 196 Summer St., Boston, Mass.

"Washington, or the Revolution," by Ethan Allen. Paper; pp. 198; price 50 cents. Published by F. Tennison Neely, 254 Franklin St., Chicago, Ill.

"No Proof," by Lawrence L. Lynch. Paper; pp. 354. Published by Rand, McNally & Co., Chicago, Ill.

"An Old Maid's Love," by Maarten Maartens. Paper; pp. 326; price 50 cents. Published by United States Book Co., 310-318 Sixth Ave., New York, N. Y.

"The Essential Man," by George Crosswell Cressey, Ph. D. Cloth; pp. 84. Published by George H. Ellis, 141 Franklin St., Boston, Mass.

"The Laws of Social Evolution," by

Rev. Franklin M. Sprague. Cloth; pp. 166; price \$1. Published by Lee & Shepard, 10 Milk St., Boston.

"A Study of Death," by Henry Mills Alden. Cloth; pp. 327; price \$1.50. Published by Harper & Brothers, Franklin Sq., N. Y.

"A Set of Rogues," by Frank Barrett. Cloth; pp. 346; price \$1.50. Published by Macmillan & Co., 66 Fifth Ave., New York.

"Master and Man," by Lyof N. Tolstoi. Cloth; pp. 64; price 35 cents. Published by Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 100 Purchase St., Boston.

"Christian Consciousness," by J. S. Black. Cloth; pp. 244; price \$1.25. Published by Lee & Shepard, 10 Milk St., Boston.

"Between the Lights," by William G. Park. Cloth; pp. 98. Published by Charles Wells Moulton, Buffalo, N. Y.

"Outline Study of United States History," by Harlow Godard. Paper; pp. 143; price 50 cents. Published by C. W. Bardeen, Syracuse, N. Y.

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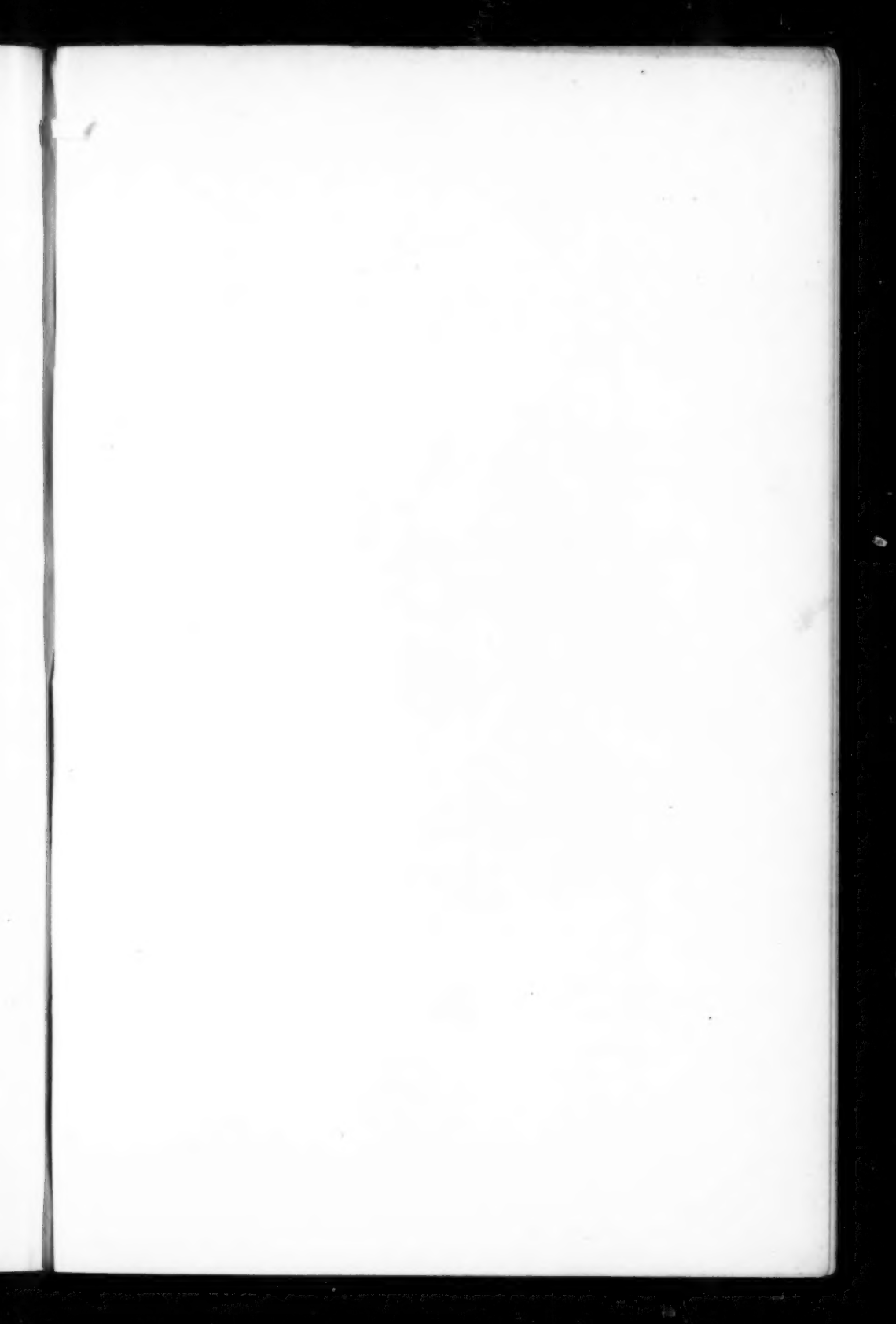
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*Joseph P. Morgan*



# THE ARENA.

No. LXXII.

NOVEMBER, 1895.

## STROLLS BEYOND THE WALLS OF CHESTER.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

### *I. The Diogenes of the Dee.*

On the morning of the 22d of August, 1894, our little party strolled along the banks of the Dee toward the old city wall. We had left behind us the ruins of the church of St. John the Baptist and the beautiful Grosvenor Park with its velvet-like carpet of emerald and its exceptionally luxuriant shrubbery. Owing to the fact that it was somewhat cloudy, we were debating whether it would be wise to take one of the steam launches for our long contemplated visit to the country seat of the Duke of Westminster, when a weather-beaten boatman importuned us to take a ride upon the river. "It will be a fine morning to visit Eaton Hall," he urged in the broad accent of the English laboring man, "and it will be helping me if you will let me take you there."

I will not attempt to repeat either here or on the following pages the language, nor to imitate the quaint phraseology of this striking individual who clearly was guileless of any extensive acquaintance with the English grammar, but who was, nevertheless, a remarkable man. He was an earnest and thoughtful reader and an independent thinker, and I should say in many respects an excellent type of the sturdy yeomanry who so largely represent the strength of England. I afterwards learned he had saved more than a score of lives from accidental drowning in the treacherous waters of the Dee; he had also rescued several persons who, under the influence of drink, or crushed by adversity, sought the suicide's end in the still hours of the night. He was strong limbed; his face was bronzed with sun and wind—his countenance was open and bore a sturdy expression. He must have been fifty years of age, but was far stronger to all

appearances than are many pampered sons of wealth at thirty-five. Still, his bowed shoulders and the deep wrinkles together with a certain sadness or gravity which seemed to grace his resolute brow, indicated that his lot in life had been by no means easy, and that much anxiety and care had been mingled in his cup of life. He was quite talkative, very much of a cynic at times, but frequently his remarks were exceedingly thoughtful, and more than once he reflected in a striking manner ideas which I had heard expressed with less perspicuity by toilers with whom I had chanced to fall into conversation in Dover, London, and Liverpool. His outlook on life and public matters, though frankly given in quaint and homely speech, evinced much of the philosopher, and was so strikingly opposite to the views held by the owner of Eaton Hall, that I jotted down much that passed between us, and will preface my description of the palatial country seat of the Duke of Westminster with some of the observations made by our Diogenes of the Dee.

After pointing out many places of interest on the banks of the river, something was said of Judge Hughes, the eminent English author and his experiment at Rugby, Tennessee. The judge is a resident of Chester, and our philosopher seemed to regard him highly.

"He is considerable of a man," he said, "and that is more than can be said of a good many who pride themselves in the possession of titles and wealth."

"We are from America," I observed, "and you know we do not care for titles as you do over here, but I would like to know your opinion of the Duke."

The old man eyed me narrowly a moment and it seemed to me that an incredulous smile played for an instant around his lips at my reference to our contempt for titles. I felt there was a remark upon his lips which might have called to mind the exorbitant prices recently paid by many daughters of our "mushroom aristocracy" for broken-down lords, dukes, and princes, rich only in empty titles, but I fancy his native shrewdness checked him from making a remark which might possibly offend us.

After a moment's reflection he said, "The present Duke is entirely unlike his father, who was very generous and did more for Chester than any person within my recollection. You have seen his statue in Grosvenor Park?" We assented. "Well then you know something of the kind of looking man he was; no one could ever mistake him for his coachman; but the present Duke [and here our philosopher



CHESTER, FROM THE RIVER DEE.

shook his head sadly] is very different; he does not look at all like a man of quality."

I observed that looks were sometimes deceptive.

"I know," he replied, "but this is not one of those cases. He is close, he never gives Chester anything to speak of, he seems to think chiefly of himself and his pleasure, although he is anxious to be regarded as a philanthropist. They say that he has the largest rental income from London property of any man in England; I don't remember the exact figures, but I have them at home, and it is almost too big to believe."

"I have noticed it stated that the Duke is very charitable and he gives all fees from visitors to the palace to charitable institutions," I observed.

"Now there is a case in point," said our cynic. "You see the Duke is very proud of his palace; it is one of the finest in England if not in Europe, and he wants visitors from everywhere to see it; that satisfies his vanity just as the vanity of other men is satisfied in other ways. But, by charging for charity's sake a shilling to see the palace and a shilling to go through the gardens and conservatories, he is able to turn over about five hundred pounds a year to the Chester Infirmary, Rhyl Convalescent Home and other like institutions. This is heralded far and near as an example of the Duke's generosity, and he is enabled to pose as a philanthropist, while unthinking people who work and suffer that such men as the Duke may spend their time in luxurious ease and idleness in London, Scotland, and elsewhere, read these accounts of his charity and are ready to throw up their hats and shout their praises; but that is only because they don't think," continued our philosopher in a slow and emphatic tone. "But," he added earnestly, "there are more and more working men in England every month who are learning to reason for themselves, and they say, and rightly say that we don't want the crumbs that fall from these rich men's tables any longer. We are tired of crawling on our hands and knees for the bones and crumbs after we ourselves have supplied the materials for the feast. They say 'give us justice and not charity,' and you are from America so you can understand how they feel. They say that the Duke does not earn his vast income; he doesn't even go to the trouble of collecting it. London is increasing the value of his property all the time, and without his working he is enabled to reap vast fortunes earned by others, while those who rent his property often have to work hard days and stay awake nights wearing the life out of them to

make ends meet and pay their rents. They have to cut down the wages of their employees to almost starvation point and their employees have to skimp and twist and turn and live a dog's life to live at all. Now why should the workers bear the burdens while society is all the time making this property more valuable and the man who has never done anything lives in ease and luxury off of it? That is not justice, and the people have a right to demand justice. Now I don't mean to say the Duke is worse than many other landlords, and think from what I read and hear that he is better than a great many of the money-lending class who are oppressing the people, but the whole system is wrong because it is not just and it is not according to the Scriptures, at least that is what these people say."

"From my point of view I think they are right," I replied.

"Do you think so? I am glad to hear you say that, for I agree with them too."

From this time on our philosopher was very free in his criticism.

"You spoke just now of the principles being unscriptural," I began.

"Does not the Book say, 'If any will not work neither shall he eat'; now what does that imply?" he quickly interposed.

"Yes, but that was not the point I had in mind. I wish to know the attitude of the clergy on the great social and political problems."

The cynic shrugged his shoulders significantly. "I belong to the church," he answered, "but I have not attended service for a long time, because I found out that from the bishops down, fine bonnets and good coats count for more than the heads and hearts of the people. Our clergymen are thinking a good deal more about having an easy time or gaining popularity and having their names appear in the great papers, coupled with fair words, than they are concerned about the poor and the starving in their midst."

"That is undoubtedly true in a large number of cases," I replied, "but there are many clergymen who are very different."

"There may be enough exceptions to prove the rule I have given, but I doubt if there would be any to spare," promptly exclaimed the cynic in homely terms and vigorous tones. "Why, there are fifty-three thousand\* members of the clergy in Great Britain, not counting the dissenting ministers. Now if the Master should come as He came of

\*These figures are those of our philosopher, and I have not been able to verify his statement, so simply give the number as he gave it to us.

old and He should go to the fishing towns and manufacturing cities of England and search out the poor and suffering; if He should mingle with them and give words of cheer to those of our time who correspond to those who were the publicans and sinners of His day, and at the same time should claim that He was the Lord and simply point to His life, teachings, and works as proof of His assertions, do you think there would be any rush of bishops in England to follow Him? No sir, I can tell you that if they followed Him it would be to testify in court against Him just as the Pharisees and chief priests did of old."

"I think you are correct in your conclusions," I assented. "The cry would be made by the clergy and the press to-day, as it was by conventional society and orthodox leaders in Jesus' time, that He was a wine bibber and a friend of publicans and sinners, or in a word, *disreputable*, not only unworthy of confidence but one who was an impostor making impious claims, and, being a teacher of things that were fundamentally at variance with the existing social order, He should be summarily dealt with in order that society might be protected."

"That is exactly it," exclaimed our philosopher, "and His very works would be denounced as imposition upon the ignorant, His motives would be judged and condemned, and not only the clergy and the courts, but the press and those of the masses *who do not think*, would join in the cry to discredit or destroy Him, just as the Jews did of old. I have often said this," continued the old man, "after I have heard our rectors preaching against the Jews for crucifying Jesus, while they carefully avoided anything in favor of *justice here and now*."

"There is too much dealing with generalities, too much skilful fighting shy of all remedies of a fundamental character in and out of the church the world over," I said, "but have you not found the dissenters more hospitable to the cause of the poor?"

I shall never forget the look of contempt which appeared upon the bronzed face of the old man as he shrugged his shoulders in his characteristic way and replied, "I never attend *chapel*, but from what I hear they are all berries off of the same bush when it comes to handling these questions; they are not anxious to imitate the Master; it would not be safe. No, I never go to chapel."

This was a striking illustration of the power of religious prejudice over a man who prided himself upon his independence of thought and freedom from the trammels of conven-



tionalism. His look, tone, and movement, far more than his words, conveyed the scorn and contempt he felt for the dissenters, and I could easily understand how little it would take to fan the flame of religious prejudice in such as he, until reason and justice would count for naught. The old gentleman soon reverted to Eaton Hall and the family of the Duke, whose ancestors he incidentally reminded us originally aided the Conqueror in robbing the rightful owners of their land.

"The property of the Earl of Chester was stolen property in the beginning, and the fortune of the Duke of Westminster is largely the result of laws which have been passed favoring classes. You see," he continued, "these men don't earn the money they get; they don't even *help* earn it. At some time in their lives they come into possession of property which their fathers never earned, and which laws help them to increase, and they gain certain rights which also aid them, but their possessions are not the result of their earnings, while a large part of their wealth comes from poor men and women and children who are compelled to live such lives as the moneyed classes would not dream of having their dogs or horses live. Now you know that is not right, that is not just, and it is not according to the teachings of the Master."

Clearly I thought our philosopher was not a Tory, which suggested to my mind the fact that within a few miles of Chester lived William E. Gladstone, the idol of the Liberals.

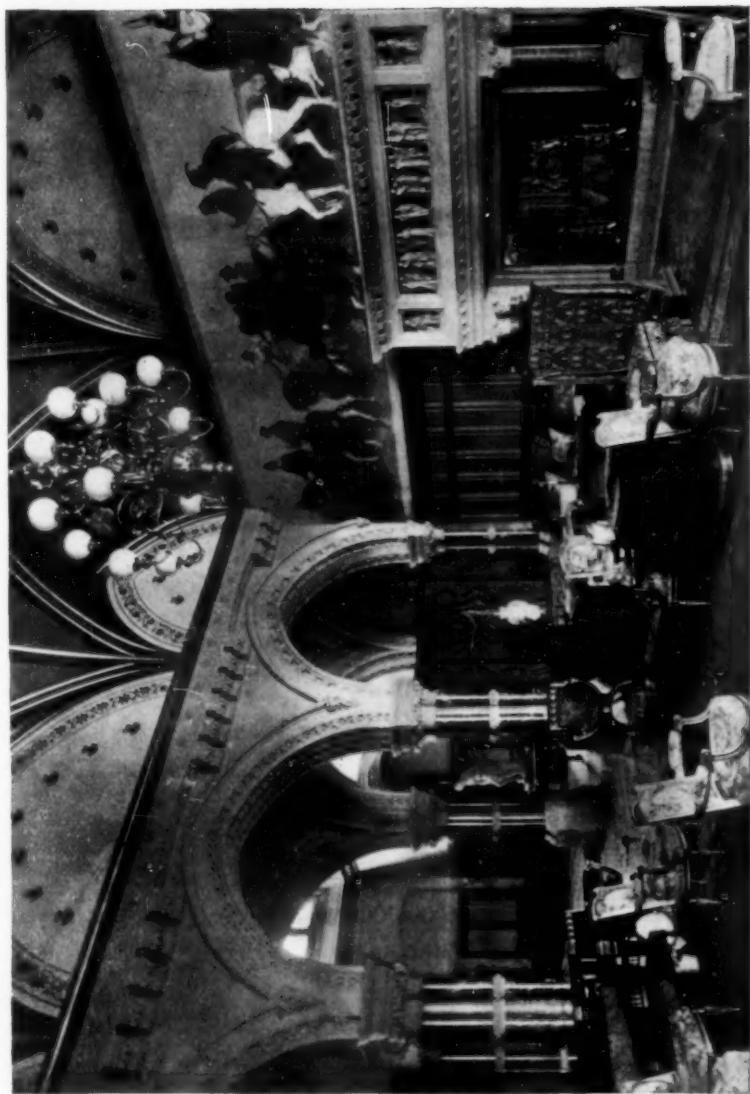
"You have one man living near Chester of whom I suppose you all feel proud."

The philosopher looked up inquiringly. "Gladstone," replied one of our party. Again I noticed the characteristic shrug of the shoulders and something akin to contempt on his face as he replied, "According to my way of thinking, and there are a good many people who agree with me, Gladstone is the most overrated man in England. He is more of a politician than a statesman. He has been on both sides of nearly every great question that has come up in his time. Does that look like statesmanship?"

"A sincere man will often change his mind and all great and worthy men will grow, as they advance in life, so as to see problems in a broader and nobler light than they at first conceived them," I replied. "If a man is always true to the fundamental ideals of justice and fraternity, always on the side of the oppressed, in seeking to relieve their suffering by insisting on the carrying out of the Golden Rule as a law in government no less than between man and man, he is to be



EATON HALL, THE COUNTRY SEAT OF THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER.



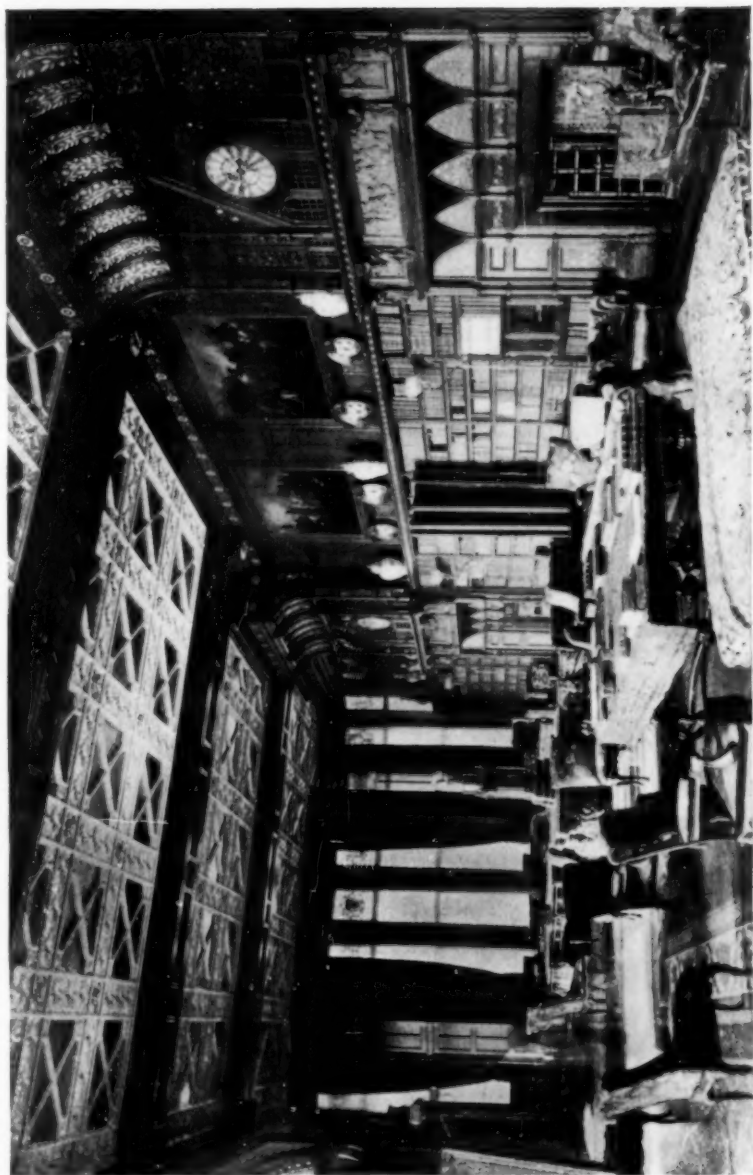
GRAND SALOON IN EATON HALL.

respected however mistaken he may be at times. It is treason to humanity and justice and a disregard to pledges and the sacrifice of fundamental demands of justice to expediency or policy which are reprehensible in statecraft and which deserve our censure. Now does not Mr. Gladstone stand for humanity and progress? is not his pulse always beating with the heart of justice?" I continued.

"No," he replied most decisively, "that is just the trouble with Gladstone; the votes to be won by appealing to the popular and selfish interests of short-sighted Englishmen have led him to disregard the very things which you say are the essentials of a statesman. Look for instance at his attitude during your civil war, when John Bright stood for the cause of freedom; where did Mr. Gladstone stand? Now I do not believe that Mr. Gladstone would admit for a moment that he believed that African, or any other kind of slavery, was right, but it was deemed politic to appeal to the selfish interests of Englishmen in sympathy with the great cotton states, and Gladstone did this; but was it the stand which a statesman would have taken?"

"I could mention several other instances," he added, becoming quite earnest as he continued: "It is true he is always foremost in denouncing inhumanity and cruelty if it is in some foreign country, and there is no danger of his party losing by such a stand, but that is not the test of a man's true greatness as I see it. No man knows better than Gladstone the real injustice suffered by the working classes of England to-day, and no one professes to be more in sympathy with them; but his party has come under the control of the landlords and the moneyed classes, and therefore he will not champion any great reform of a radical character which would offend the moneyed classes to whom the Liberals, no less than the Tories, look for support in carrying elections. I used to be a Liberal, but they have pledged reform to the working men too many times, and then when the real masters object to anything of a fundamental character they make a flourish of trumpets and fire blank cartridges, but are very careful to do nothing; this pleases their masters and deceives the people who do not think. The fact is, as I see it, the Liberal party is more anxious to please the rich than the Tories are just at present."

"You think that the Liberals have been captured by the landlords and landlords of England, and being a party founded on democratic ideals and the ancient enemy of enthroned conservatism and wealth, they are regarded with



LIBRARY IN EATON HALL.



MR. GLADSTONE AND HIS LITTLE GRANDDAUGHTER DOROTHY DREW.

more suspicion by the new masters than are the Tories, whose principles are anti-democratic and whose long fealty to the rich and titled classes frees them from suspicion which rests on the Liberals," I replied.

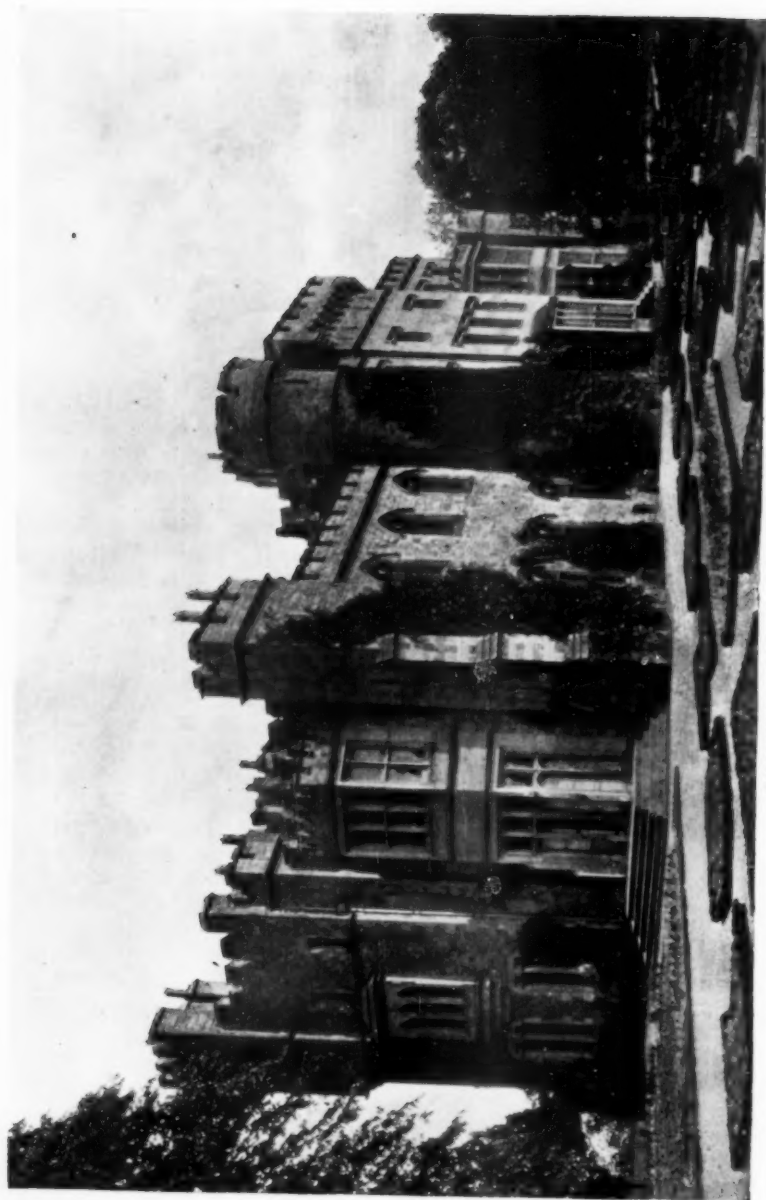
"That is exactly it," returned our philosopher; "they feel that they must out-Herod Herod to satisfy the rich, and on many points they are less liberal than the Tories. Now I don't know that I am in favor of Woman's Suffrage," he con-



tinued, "but take that as an example. Lord Salisbury is far more favorable to it than Gladstone, although one would naturally expect the Liberal leader to champion the right of franchise for women, and there are many other things which I might name in which the Liberals are more conservative on questions which look toward extending the freedom and bettering the condition of the people, which are being more strenuously opposed by the Liberals than the Tories. The Liberal party, it seems to me, is very much like Dickens' Uriah Heep in its attitude toward the moneyed classes. Its very action suggests Uriah's favorite phrase, 'I am very 'umble.'"

"Well," I said, "Gladstone took a brave stand for Ireland."

"And there again he counted the cost," interposed our cynic. "Look at his past record on that question. Parnell was able to convince him that his little band was indispensable to Liberal supremacy; a bargain was struck, and had all gone well with Parnell, the programme might have succeeded, but as a matter of fact I do not think Gladstone has shown true statesmanship in handling the Irish question; a middle course it seems to me, would have been the wisest at the present time at least. Mr. Gladstone favors altogether too much for the safety and security of England when we remember the geographical position of Ireland. Indeed, here again he considered the success of his party rather than the real interest of England or Ireland in the bargain which he struck with Parnell. Now if he had shown anything like this zeal in carrying out measures of permanent value in order to secure justice to English working men and tenants he would, it is true, have offended the moneyed classes no doubt, but he would have acted the part of a true statesman and a wise humanitarian, and even though he might have suffered defeat for a time, Liberalism would have gained more permanent supremacy in England in the long run. At least, that is the way we look at it, and do you know there are tens of thousands of voters all over this country who no longer take their ideas from the clergy, the big papers, or the politicians; they are thinking for themselves, and you mark my words, at the next general election the Liberal party will be overthrown. I don't expect the Tories will do much better, but it is necessary that the Liberals be rebuked. The working people," he continued, "are talking among themselves and doing a great deal of thinking. There are a great many things being written which don't appear in the papers, and which the public don't



HAWARDEN, THE HOME OF MR. GLADSTONE.

take into account, but some day all this educational work, which is making men think for themselves as never before, will tell, and the world no less than England will be surprised at the result; but here we are at the landing. I will remain until you return; don't hurry."

We stepped from the boat and turned our faces toward Eaton Hall. From remarks dropped, which space forbids my giving, it was evident that our cynical philosopher had been reading much of the literature of social democracy. He gave us an approximate number of the abandoned farms, together with the views of writers of considerable reputation, showing that the shortsighted course of England in permitting the money-lending classes to dictate her policy had reacted on the poor at home, as well as the creditor nations abroad, and that even the landlords were now suffering in consequence. From the views expressed by others, in various parts of England, no less than his own statement of the number of those who believed as he did, I became deeply impressed with the conviction that there was a tremendous undercurrent of discontent in England. Tens of thousands have lost faith in the politicians and the partisan press of to-day. They are reading a vast amount of literature favoring social democracy, and I believe that while the pendulum will possibly move backward and forward for a time between Liberalism and Toryism yet in England unless there arises, at an early date, some statesman with the sagacity of Sir Robert Peel to meet the impending crisis as he met the Corn Law agitation, some startling changes will take place in this island before a generation passes.

## *II. The Country Seat of the Duke of Westminster.*

The roadway to Eaton Hall led through a broad expanse of sparsely wooded land beautifully carpeted with velvety grass. A large number of deer were feeding near the road, but took no notice of passing visitors; they seemed as tame as sheep in our pastures. Some idea of the extent of the Duke's domain may be gained when it is remembered that the park in which the palace of Eaton Hall is situated is eight by twelve miles in area.

We first entered the gardens; a scene of beauty never to be forgotten opened before us. The extensive conservatories were marvellous in their color effects, and although the air was tropical and heavy with mingled perfumes we were tempted to linger some time in the midst of the artificially tropical region in which the prodigality of nature

in her color effects was so conspicuous. One of our party observed that if a quantity of the flowers which were fading, were cut and daily sent to the sick in and out of the hospitals at Chester and thereabouts, the cost would be small, while numbers of hearts and homes would be brightened and subtly refined. The great fruit conservatories were also interesting; here peaches, plums, and pears, no less than grapes, were trained as vines along great walls and loaded with their luscious products.

"The Duke must enjoy the flowers and fruit," I suggested to a gardener.

"He is not here much of the time to enjoy them," was the reply; "at present he is in Scotland, but he lives in London, and is here but a few months in the year."

Thinking how much the weary invalids, not four miles distant, would enjoy the luscious peaches and grapes which were hanging on these vines, we turned into the palace, which I will not attempt to describe at length, contenting myself with brief descriptions of some typical rooms.

Eaton Hall is a noble edifice, displaying in a most striking manner what the resources of modern art can do when great wealth is at command. The duke is said to be the richest nobleman in England. He has certainly expended vast sums in the most lavish manner on this magnificent country seat. Probably one of the most striking rooms of the palace is the Grand Saloon. This apartment, which in reality is an extension of the great central hall, presents a most imposing prospect from every side, impressing the visitor with the scale of grandeur which pervades the interior of the building no less than the charm of nature, heightened by the cunning hand of art, which is appreciated the moment one looks out of the great windows of the saloon. A striking feature of the interior decoration is H. Stacy Mark's panoramic paintings of Chaucer's "Canterbury Pilgrims." The strength of this work lies in the marked individuality of the characters represented rather than in its color effects, which indeed seemed to me to be indifferent; the artist, however, has achieved a real triumph in the life-like qualities which characterize the numerous individuals represented. The vaulted ceiling of the room will attract the attention of the visitor whether or not he feels, as I did, that it was somewhat out of harmony with the other decorations in the room. It is treated after an East Indian design, the centre being a representation of the sun surrounded by stars, all treated in gold on an azure background. The mantel-piece in this apartment is especially rich and effect-

ive; but of all the show rooms of the palace, the one which impressed me as being the most harmonious in treatment as it was also the most attractive, was the library. This great hall, which is ninety-two feet in length and thirty feet in width, is richly furnished and contains more than twelve thousand volumes. Two immense mantel-pieces are noble specimens of fine wood-work and are in perfect keeping with the general treatment of the room, which throughout is rich and delightfully harmonious. A very interesting decorative feature is found in five large historical paintings by Benjamin West, among the most interesting of which are Oliver Cromwell Dissolving the Long Parliament, Charles II Landing in Dover, and The Death of General Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham. In this connection I would mention among the art treasures of Eaton Hall, several life-size portraits of the Grosvenor family executed by some of the most eminent portrait painters, including Sir John Millais—there are also some pictures attributed to Rubens.

Before leaving the palace we paused for the second time within the Chapel; here as elsewhere we were impressed with the lavish expenditure of money. The lofty tower of this chapel is fully one hundred and seventy-five feet in height; it contains a chime consisting of twenty-eight bells, the largest weighing two and a half tons. The interior of the edifice is very impressive with its handsome stained-glass windows through which the sunlight was flooding the rich furnishings from the many colored panes.

As I stood there I was reminded of some remarks made by our philosopher about Jesus, and I wondered how the lowly Nazarene, in whose honor this edifice was ostensibly erected, would have felt had He been there fresh from London, where without a place to lay His head He had shared the lot of thousands of out-of-works who nightly sleep on the stone embankment along the Thames. I believed, judging from the life He lived in Palestine, that had he stood in the aisles of this magnificent chapel, His serene brow would have borne a look of mingled sorrow and indignation. I fancied He would have felt something of the unutterable sadness which He experienced when he wept over Jerusalem, and something of the withering indignation which marked His speech when He uttered His terrible "woes" against those "who devour widow's houses and for a pretence make long prayers."

### III. *Hawarden on a Fete Day.*

During our stay in Chester we visited Hawarden, the home of William E. Gladstone, the man whom I believe

to be the most ardently loved and the most thoroughly feared and disliked among the statesmen of England. Hawarden is six miles east of Chester across the borders of Wales, and the visitor who takes a cab or the tram-car passes through one of those horrible little towns which are given over to mining or manufacturing, so frequently encountered in England. The sight of the bare, dirty houses and the barren aspect of things on every side cannot fail to cast a gloom over the mind. I remember that the oppression occasioned by the sight of this town spoiled to a great degree the enjoyment we would otherwise have derived from the beautiful scenery which lay beyond, especially the Welsh hills, clothed in that purple haze, the charm of which may be felt but can never be described, which rose in the distance. The village of Hawarden was gorgeously arrayed in holiday attire in honor of a fete at Hawarden manor-house, and throngs were constantly arriving from remote parts of England, reminding one of pilgrims visiting the shrine of a saint. To obtain a glimpse of the face of the "Gramp Old Man" seemed to be a "consummation devoutly wished," and if perchance the visitor might hear his voice, that indeed would be something for him to dwell upon when he reached home and narrated again and again to his wife, his children, and the more or less envious neighbors, the story of this great event in his sombre life. The ardent admiration entertained by thousands of visitors no less than the enthusiasm everywhere manifested by the inhabitants of Hawarden, contrasted most boldly with the opinions expressed by our Diogenes of the Dee.

The wonderful magnetic power exerted by this remarkable man who has played so important a part in the drama of English politics, reminded me of the enthusiasm which marked the campaign when Mr. Blaine ran for the presidency. I remember that while the press of Massachusetts was anything but enthusiastic in his support, he received such an ovation when he spoke in Boston as few men have ever enjoyed. Henry Clay was another great figure in American politics who awakened the same intense enthusiasm on the part of the masses which Mr. Blaine exerted, during the aggressive period of his career, and which Mr. Gladstone has long wielded throughout England. I know of no living statesman who calls forth anything like the same degree of admiration, confidence, and love from his partisans as does Mr. Gladstone. This intense loyalty, which in cases almost amounts to blind devotion, always begets bitter enmity. The Tories of England make a very black indictment when they enumerate the real or supposed



shortcomings of the idol of the Liberals, while the Social Democrats, who have come out largely from Mr. Gladstone's party, and which I think are rapidly growing in numbers even though they lack as yet the power which comes with union and leadership, regard him in various degrees of disfavor, ranging all the way from sincere regret that he can not or will not see the necessity for fundamental social changes, to open contempt, no less marked or intense than that expressed by the most ultra Tories.

On the day we visited Hawarden the vast multitude which was assembled was not only rewarded by seeing Mr. Gladstone but their joy was increased by hearing him deliver a brief address, and the cup of joy was filled to overflowing when little Dorothy Drew, the petted granddaughter of the great statesman, appeared before them waving her handkerchief in response to their thunderous applause. I regret that it was impossible for us to see the aged statesman owing to the illness of one of our party.

Hawarden, like Chester, has a wonderful history. It was a Saxon stronghold before the Norman conquest, and was ceded to Hugh Lupus after the creation of the earldom of Chester. Situated almost on the border between England and Wales, it has been the scene of many exciting and important episodes in the annals of English history. In 1645 Charles I found temporary refuge here after his flight from Chester, but the castle afterwards fell into the hands of the Parliamentary forces and was subsequently almost destroyed. From the present ruins, which date back to the thirteenth century, one obtains a fine view of the Dee valley. For a period of two hundred years Hawarden belonged to the famous Stanley family, but subsequently it was purchased by Chief Justice Glynn, and in 1874 passed into the family of Mr. Gladstone.

The old castle is less interesting, perhaps, than the present mansion where resides the eminent Liberal leader. The great library of Mr. Gladstone consists of more than ten thousand volumes, and is free to the residents of Hawarden, who have merely to register their names and the dates when they borrow the volumes. A large orphanage, liberally supported by Mrs. Gladstone, is found a short distance from the mansion, and speaks of the warm heart of that most estimable lady. The park in which the castle and modern mansion are situated is exceedingly beautiful, and contrasts strongly with the home environments of the voters who go to make up the bone and sinew of the Liberal party of England.

That Mr. Gladstone has failed to grasp the real meaning

and significance of the social discontent of our times, I think is unquestionably true; that he has failed to rise to the heights which would have enabled him to catch a glimpse of the new social order which must replace the present as surely as centralized government supplanted feudalism, is in my judgment equally obvious. That his position on many questions, as woman's enfranchisement for example, is distinctly opposed to the onward current of the best thought of our age is clearly apparent; but that in spite of his shortcomings his is a manly and noble figure, we must in justice concede, and be our views what they may in regard to Mr. Gladstone as a statesman, the personal and home life of the man challenges the sincere admiration of all lovers of sturdiness and comparative simplicity, in an age when those in elevated stations are living a life permeated with artificiality and where too many of our reputed great men are vying with each other in wanton luxury and selfish indulgence.

## WHY DOES THE SOUTH WANT FREE SILVER?

BY UNITED STATES SENATOR JOHN T. MORGAN.

The question asked by the ARENA is, "Why does the South want free silver?" The South has no interest in silver money that is either political or geographical. It has a social and historical interest in the use of silver money which is of the greatest importance. The interest of the South in silver money relates, chiefly, to two facts: First, that it is supplied to the world only through the slow and laborious toil of the miner, and its steady production prevents the inflations and depressions of values and prices that are so easily within the control of money that is based on credit, and constantly subject to the fluctuations of those speculations that beset the world with financial gambling. Second, that it furnishes to labor the only safe and convenient measure for the value of a day's work performed by human hands.

"The South," as we designate the Southern States, has a great natural monopoly of cotton and yellow pine, and is the active rival of all other countries in the production of coal and iron. In these elements of industrial and commercial power the South has no rival whose competition is really dangerous. It is not necessary to enter into an inquiry as to the facts, or to enumerate the resources, that establish this truth, and make it both inevitable and perpetual. Whether or not the causes are understood, the result in a demonstration which the world must accept, without the necessity of any other argument than the known facts that are beyond dispute. All efforts to disprove or avoid this actual situation have failed.

These great factors in all progressive civilization are incapable of full development and perfect use in any country by any other means than individual, human hand-labor. The South must always be a great field for such toilers. In this fact we must also discern the close relation between mining for the precious metals, and the bringing into commercial usefulness of the great leading industries of the South. They are, alike, the fruits of individual labor. But there is something more than a close relationship between these industries, growing out of the

similarity of the labor employed in them. There is a mutual dependence that makes them essential to each other. Without the free use of silver money, with full legal-tender power, our strength will be wasted in the effort to develop our leading industries.

Individual toil is the bottom fact in all the human progress that we call "the progress of civilization." Individual toil creates the real basis on which the human family depends for existence as well as for progress. If the world should attain to the condition that would render individual labor unnecessary, it would cease to be the theatre which God designed for the education and uplifting of the human family. This condition will always exist, and it will always present the inquiry as to how much of the fruits of labor the laborer should be permitted to enjoy. Justice, sound policy, and religion all demand that the laws shall protect labor against the avarice of those who employ it and live upon its earnings.

The South, with its virtual monopoly of two of these great and essential elements of man's physical and commercial prosperity, ought to furnish the best and most remunerative field for the labor of those who must earn their bread in the sweat of their brow. And this will be so, unless their rich productions shall become too great a temptation for those who live only by speculation in finance and commerce, and, out of their gains, support and keep in office their servants, the politicians.

In the South, the greatest need is for such regulation—of which money is the vital point—as will encourage individual toil, by securing to it a fair and steady compensation. The great industries of the South, especially in cotton, coal, iron, and lumber, will always be conducted by hand-labor. Machinery may assist these labors, but there is no substitute for the human hand in the cotton harvest-field, or in the mines, or the lumbering camp, that will dispense with individual toil, or even check the growing necessity for it. To secure the prosperity and peace of these laborers, on which the whole destiny of the South mainly depends, they must have the inducements of family, home, education for their children, and some assurance that their lives are not measured alone by the days they live, and the quantity and quality of the food they consume, and are not to end with a monument of clay in a potter's field. Whether they are white or black or yellow, their usefulness will depend upon the hope of a just reward for their labor, which shall not be taxed by their being compelled to pay interest, or usury,

either to the government or to the banker that shall furnish the money to compensate them for their labor. The issue and use of paper money that represents the credit of the government, or of a bank, is inseparable from the burden either of interest or taxation. To represent money, such paper issues must be redeemable in gold or silver coin, and the banks must get the coin with which to redeem them, through the use of their credit, and the government must get it by taxation. The government has no right to mine for gold or silver, even on the public lands. That is the exclusive right of the people.

There is not a dollar of paper money in the hands of the people that did not find its way to them through the assistance and under the incumbrance of the credit of some pledge for its redemption in gold or silver coin. Every such paper dollar is a debt on which the people must pay interest, and what they pay to the banks is a very burdensome rate. Money, coined for the people—the producers of bullion—whether of gold or silver, and put into circulation by them, starts on its career of debt-paying and of the purchase and sale of commodities, with no tax or other burden upon it to be paid in taxes or over the counter of a bank. It is its own redeemer, and calls for no sacrifice. It is the earning of the toiler, crystallized into imperishable wealth and paid to him in the fruits of his own toil. The banker may get hold of it and lend it at interest; but the government receives it for taxes and pays it out for services without any responsibility for its redemption, and therefore without imposing any taxation for its redemption. In the hands of the holder it is property, to be used, in its largest sense, as property; but in the hands of the government it is only the redeemer of promises and the extinguisher of indebtedness. In the hands of the government, coined money is a measure of value, but the government cannot speculate in money.

The miners of gold and silver are the producers of the sole measures of value, and they produce the treasure that represents accumulated wealth. When such creative power, as to money, is secured to any people, whereby they may supply these representatives of wealth and these measures of all values, and when that power is fixed and guaranteed in the organic laws of our country, there can be no more important or valuable right, nor can any liberty enjoyed by the people exceed it in its blessing.

This right to have their labor coined into money is the proud and universal liberty secured to our people in the

constitution of the United States. It existed under British law, both as to gold and silver, when the constitution was ordained, and it was preserved, as the liberty of free speech and of religion was preserved, to all coming generations. The South does not want to surrender this important right. This statement needs no argument to uphold it, because the constitution cannot be intelligently read in any different light. The history of our states and people, contemporary with the foundation of our government, teaches but one lesson on this subject. It is enough that no advocate of the exclusive coinage of gold has as yet contended that gold and silver are separated in their functions as to coinage, and in respect of their power as legal-tender money under our constitution. It will be a rashly bold statesman who will venture to make such a distinction between these precious metals and assert that gold is a money metal, and that silver is not, in the meaning of our constitution. If the South had no other reason for insisting upon the equality of silver and gold as money metals, in respect of coinage and legal-tender power, their inseparable union in the constitution would be an all-sufficient reason for that demand.

The South has never sought to strike down any of the rights of American citizens, as they are guaranteed in the constitution, and, although it has no silver mines and has valuable gold mines, the selfish purpose of adding double value to gold, by hostile legislation as to silver, has no place in the hearts of the Southern people, and they oppose the heresy of taxing a laborer for the use of the money that pays his daily wages. The miner can dig for gold and silver and have it coined, and pay himself his own wages, without the aid of a bank or banker, under our constitution.

The invested capital of the South is almost exclusively in real estate. The banking laws of the United States forbid the use of any of such property as a basis of bank loans to the people. The only security that the national banks are permitted to take for loans, besides the personal credit of those whose paper they may discount, is bonds, stocks, and liens, in the nature of chattel mortgages, such as bills of lading on exported crops and other productions. The whole advantage of our national banking system, which rests alone on the taxation of the people, is thus given by law to those engaged in merchandise and commerce and to those who speculate upon the annual crops and productions of the industrial people. The great mass of Southern wealth is rendered useless, under our laws, as a basis for financial credit, and the crops are resorted to and are vir-



tually mortgaged to the commercial classes even before they are produced. This is true as to eighty per cent, at least, of all the productions of the South that enter into commerce. They go to the markets loaded with such a weight of incumbrances that there is no real choice left to the producer as to the time or place at which they must be sold, and he has almost no influence in fixing the price of his commodities. It is difficult to conceive of a more embarrassing situation than is caused by these coercive laws, which force those who create commerce to become the helpless dependents of those who handle it. The producer is cut off from the benefit of the laws of supply and demand, which properly regulate prices, and this privilege of pricing productions is thrown into the hands of the speculators who have commercial liens, in advance, on the crops or other productions. The annual losses on this account are enormous, and those who control the crops derive a corresponding profit.

Low prices of cotton and grain, at the annual opening of the market, have become as periodical as the seasons, and are regularly followed by a rise in prices after the producers have sold their crops. This could not be if the laws of the country did not give to the commercial institutions chartered by special acts, the control of the finances. The great body of the producers of all commercial property must, of necessity, avail themselves of what credit they may have while the labor of production is in progress and before the result is known. They must, therefore, resort to those who have available capital, in the form of either money or credit, to get the aid of their support; and, as a necessary result, they must pledge the annual production in advance to meet the current outlay of their business. This is especially true of the industries of the South, as everybody knows, and it creates a vital necessity for competition in the business of furnishing to them a proper supply of money. When that business is monopolized, industry is always taxed to the limit of endurance. The whole body of our productive industries is as completely under the control of the banks and other financiers as a locomotive is under the control of the engineer. To the extent that the miners of silver and gold can relieve the producing classes from the grip of this class, and only to that extent, will they derive a just reward from their labor.

Not only are we excluded from using the only real capital we have—our lands—as a basis of credit in the national banks which rest for their foundation alone upon the tax-

paying power of the people, but we are forbidden to use the rightful power of the states to establish banks of issue, and thus to give our people some rightful use of their own credit, which would be safely based upon actual coin in the vaults of their local banks.

The constitution of our country is annulled for the purpose of giving the control of all finance to the national banks. The plea on which this flagrant wrong is justified—namely, that the states cannot be trusted in supplying currency to their own people, and that congress alone has the wisdom and honesty requisite to provide such laws—adds grievous insult to injury. It is unworthy of discussion. But the deplorable fact confronts us that the commerce of the South is placed by our laws within the control of financiers and the national banks to such an extent that it is handled exclusively for their profit and advantage. We grow the harvest which they reap. This is equally true of the West and of all the mining states. This condition must be relieved, or else we shall have another fatal exhibition of that ever present movement that is always alert and active in gathering the control of all productive industry within the grasp of accumulated capital. Money, instead of being the servant of industry, is now the master that rules all the fruits of labor with almost unlimited power.

The power of money is greater or less according to the ability of wealthy men and corporations to keep its control concentrated in their hands; and the power thus to focalize money depends in a large degree upon the denominations in which it is coined or printed. It is easier to get together one thousand bills of ten thousand dollars each, than it is to assemble one million dollars in bills of one dollar each. Capital handles the larger bills like a concentrated army, while labor uses small bills in widely scattered hands. The same incidents attach to gold and silver coins, and have given to silver the designation of "the money of the poor man." It is the money of every man, and is indispensable to all, and especially to the poor, because it pays for the daily bread of hundreds of millions of people.

In the form of fractional coins, every man is the friend of silver money. The enemies of silver money concentrate their warfare upon the silver dollar alone. There are but two reasons for this hostility: One is that the silver dollar, being a full legal tender, increases the volume of "sound money" in a denomination that is not easily capable of being concentrated in large sums; and the other is, that silver money circulates without creating, in its origin, any

interest burden upon the people, and supplants paper money which never leaves a bank without creating a debt, by way of interest, that continues to grow so long as it is in circulation. The miner who produces a silver dollar gets no interest on it after he pays it out; but the banker who prints and circulates a promise to pay a dollar to the bearer always gets interest, and often usury, upon it so long as it is kept in circulation. The banker keeps his capital in hand, while he loans its representative to the people. The causes of this conflict between coin and paper money are not to the advantage of the people when they result in lessening the supply of sound, constitutional money in the hands of the people, and in the increase of the facility for concentrating paper money in the vaults of the banks.

The silver dollar is a domestic coin that stays in the neighborhood and does its work among the laboring classes, without going to the banks, either for redemption or for use in creating "corners" in the market or in forming a new base upon which interest or usury can be accumulated. It is, therefore, the most useful money for the people. It is not dangerous to anybody; it never did any harm and never will.

Instead of driving gold into retirement, silver is as free from exclusiveness when coined as gold is, or as silver is when they are associated in chemical or physical union, as they often are in the ores from which they are extracted. When gold abounds, for whatever reason, it has a tardy and limited circulation among the producing classes. It is not convenient for them. It is too concentrated for the minor uses of money, and it is always avoiding investment. Gold is the money of the speculator and the miser, while silver fructifies industry as the rains do the earth. It is the spring that fills the brook, the river, and the ocean, and it is all the safer because it comes, a drop at a time, from the fountain. A dollar, in silver, for a day's work in a mine, is not a dangerous cause of inflation of the currency.

The South with its gold mines, and the West with its silver mines, have a constant and indispensable demand for full legal-tender silver coins, in order to pay the laborers. The life of their industries can no more be sustained without such coins, or some banker's paper substitute for them, than the laborers in the fields, forests, and mines can be supported on insufficient food or on compressed air.

Gold coins represent accumulated wealth, as silver coins represent active working capital. When the bullion in silver coins is at a premium over the bullion in gold coins

at a given ratio, the silver coins do not retire from circulation, as gold does under like conditions. Silver is always seeking investment in productive property or in commodities intended for immediate use or consumption, and, indeed, in all descriptions of property; while gold waits for speculative opportunity, and it comes into circulation only when traffic is brisk because other sound money is abundant, or when the value of property has gone to the bottom of the market in a general bankruptcy. It then becomes a wrecker and gathers in salvage.

Silver is an incentive to trade and industry, because it stimulates labor and gives to it, every day, the rewards of its daily earnings. Not so with gold; it waits for the more convenient season, when it can gather harvests where it has not sown. It cannot be split into fractions corresponding to the value of a day's work, and the banker gets the job of making the requisite paper dollars, and still uses the "gold basis" of his credit to speculate upon. No country can be prosperous, under free labor, if the toilers are not permitted to be thrifty in gathering their small earnings, day by day. The gold dollar has been abolished in our coinage laws to give place to the paper dollar, and also because the laborers found it too small in size for the convenience of their thick, rough hands. Fractions of gold dollars are absurd; they have not existed in the laws of industrial nations, and they never will be coined. We must, therefore, have fractions of silver dollars, or else we deprive the laboring classes and all others of the means of applying the value of a day's work to the several and varying wants of the family. The laborer must labor five days, on a credit, before he can get his pay in gold for a day's work. Under such a system, the laborers must be taxed to get paper money for their wages, or else they must lend the bankers hundreds of millions of dollars for five days without interest, or else they must "take their pay in the store."

The silver dollar is as large a silver coin as is needed for any use, and its size and weight will never be made larger, because that is not necessary. Why such a coin is deprecated and denounced as "unsound money," when two half dollars and four quarters or ten dimes are "sound money," though they are about eight per cent lighter in pure metal than the silver dollar, is a question that needs some rational answer. It is easily given and cannot be mistaken. The answer is that our silver dollars, being a full legal tender for all sums, are the competitors of gold and of paper money in the payment of debts.

Those who use money merely for a basis of banking and speculation, in which vast sums are employed, are not content that silver dollars should be used in payment of debts. In commercial and financial dealings with foreign countries, these classes find it to their advantage to make exchanges and payments in gold bullion—not in gold coin, for all coin is rated as bullion when it crosses the ocean. They demand the power to coerce payment of all debts of a commercial sort in gold, because that better subserves the purposes of their business, and they demand unlimited issues of bonds to borrow money for their sole advantage, to enable them to earn profits from their business.

Just at this point there arises a necessary and irrepressible conflict between the industrial and the speculating or trading classes, that must continue until the end of time under our present laws. The latter class demands that the toilers shall yield the full legal-tender, debt-paying power of silver dollars, and shall pay their debts only in gold.

Silver coin is set apart in the constitution, equally with gold coin, as legal tender for all debts; and so imperative is this obligation and duty of government that even the sovereign states are prohibited from making legal tender of any other money. It is, therefore, contrary to the constitution, and is a national humiliation, when we undertake to shape our laws so as to accommodate those engaged in commerce alone, or to mould them to the financial system of Great Britain, which limits the legal-tender power of silver coins to the sum of forty shillings or ten dollars. The South has great need of this provision of our national constitution for preventing the depreciation of the prices of crops and real estate, as well as of labor. Without it, the existing volume of private indebtedness would be greatly increased in its burden, and the prices of all our leading productions would be measured in gold at London. Every production would be valued according to the scarcity of gold, as compared with the increase of our exports of these supplies; and a large crop would insure a low price, for these reasons, and also because the consumers, the world over, are so impoverished in their supply of money, in the absence of silver money, that they are not able to pay good prices, in very scarce and dear money, for what they need. If we do not produce at pauper rates, under such conditions, the pauper consumers cannot take our productions; and the poorer classes are our best customers.

Labor will soon force the world to the adoption of a wiser plan, which has for its support the justice and the

will of divine authority. In the South we have two races that furnish labor, and a class who own real estate—our actual capital—and employ labor in working it. That class may have some reasons, that are not general, for preferring a scarcity of money, with exaggerated purchasing power; but such reasons, if they exist, do not change the purpose of that class, so honorable to them, to enable their employees to enjoy the utmost thrift that is possible, and to realize the full advantage of our just system of organic law. A different feeling, manifested in a less liberal and just policy, would soon render the presence of these races and classes intolerable to each other. The duty of self-preservation entails upon the owners of landed estates the corresponding duty of preserving and encouraging those who labor in the fields, the forests, and the mines.

Justice to labor is chief among the higher virtues of men in authority. This justice cannot be done under such a contraction of coined money as is proposed by the demonetization of silver. If a laboring man can handle no money, but must live on the credit or kindness of his employer and "take his pay in the store," he is nearly as poor in the blessing of independence as is the employer who must mortgage the annual production of his land in advance that he may get some ready money with which to carry on his business.

Landed estates in the South will continue to be held in still larger areas, and the small holdings will be absorbed in them, if only gold coin is to be used as the money of redemption and in the payment of wages, and if paper money used in working these plantations must be paid for at high rates out of the annual products of the soil; such taxes always fall upon labor in the end. A laboring peasantry has never yet acquired the dignity and prosperity of free men by delving in the soil and receiving their pay in gold or in money that is taxed by the lender with a heavy interest. The cost of paper money is made too great for the laborer by the interest taxation, and that of gold because of its scarcity.

The supply of money that reaches the producers and the laborers in the South and the West, under our financial system, is exceedingly meagre. In actual circulation, it will not reach five dollars *per capita* through the whole year. Our paper and gold money does not remain among the people. It is migratory, and is moved to and from great financial centres, under the orders of the capitalists. In a sound monetary system, the money of the country would seek the market centres, instead of the markets seeking



the money centres. As we are deprived of local banks of issue, by an abuse of the constitution, and as every national bank is only a stem of the great vine whose root is in New York or possibly in London, we have a need of silver money, drawn from nature's treasury, that is very pressing. It is the only money we have that the bankers cannot absolutely control. It is too heavy for distant transportation, and it does not come and go through the mails or on express trains to meet speculative demands or to be loaned to stock-gamblers. They do not want it. It lingers in the hands of toiling men and about their homes and promotes thrift among them. It is the only money that is used by nearly two-thirds of the toilers throughout the world, and it has never worked a hardship or a disappointment to any laboring man.

The South is very much in need of silver money, to reestablish the financial power and influence that, for many decades, was felt in all the marts of commerce, when almost every man of wealth in the South was his own banker. These and a great number of other facts proved by our experience stand out as a frowning answer of solemn denial against the forebodings and false prophecies as to coming evils which comprise the whole argument against the use of silver money in the South. All our experience, it seems, must yield to the brazen audacity of false prophets. The danger of an inflation of silver from over-production is a chimera, and is proved to be such by the fact that, in all ages, it has never occurred.

The relative rate of production, as between silver and gold—sixteen parts of silver to one of gold—has varied very slightly during three centuries, and, after deducting what is required in the arts, the collective value of the silver and gold that the mines of the world have yielded is scarcely a tithe of the world's indebtedness. The only possible chance of paying the world's indebtedness is in realizing healthy prices for the productions of industry. The amount of positive wealth that is added to the value of these productions by mining for the precious metals is very small. The value of one new invention—the bicycle—and that of electrical machinery, which is also new, would require more than the value of the silver taken from our mines, annually, to represent them in money. Over-production of the precious metals is an impossible conception, when their output is compared with even the productions of inventive genius, to say nothing of the immense and rapid expansion of the value of natural productions in all parts of the world.

These increased productions of genius and labor must be distributed over the earth through the channels of commerce, which can only be done with the aid of sums of money, or of paper promises based on credit, that are nearly equal in amount to the sum of these newly created values. The greed for gain that would lock up the mines of either gold or silver, in order to give a wider and more profitable field of speculation to credit or to capital employed in banking, is simply the covetousness that is denounced in the ten commandments; and when this becomes a national sin and is encouraged by national laws, it is no wonder that panic and bankruptcy ensue.

The "want of confidence," that has become the definition of a new national disease which is supposed to infect commerce and derange finance, is a want of faith, on the part of the people, in a financial system that ignores the benevolent providence of the Creator, and installs monopoly, covetousness, and oppression in its stead. Are the people irrational, that they should suddenly lose confidence in any just and wise system of laws? That epidemic of apparent folly, in 1893, was caused by the terrible picture then presented, at a single glance, to the eyes of discerning men, in which they saw that the debts of the world were tenfold greater than the value of all the gold and silver coin in existence, and that their burden was increased one-half by the British policy of gold monometallism, to which the United States became a party in 1873. Silver, though crippled and despised, had supported this avalanche of debt and had saved the banks of New York and London, until it was demonstrated that these same banks had, and would use, the power to destroy it as legal-tender money. It was then that "confidence" was lost, and the banks refused to pay their depositors. The cause was actual and not a frantic alarm. It was the burden of debts that was cast upon gold, by the death of silver, that destroyed "confidence."

This panic reached us during the wheat harvest and destroyed its value. The cotton crop of the South was then growing in the fields, and was worth nothing as security for money. The people of the South had but a single resource, and that consisted very largely in silver dollars that had not intruded themselves as debits upon the deposit accounts of the banks. Though they were poor and without credit in the banks, they suffered less in that fateful panic than any other people except the French. They still had some money that the banks had not absorbed in their

deposit accounts. The banks had not gotten hold of their silver money, and this saved them. Their debts to one another were paid more rapidly than at any previous time, and a single silver dollar often paid as much as twenty dollars of debt in a single day. These facts alone would answer the question put by the ARENA, "Why does the South want silver money?" It stood by us in our time of need, and has earned our "confidence."

Silver money, acting as the pioneer of those industries that open up new countries and new channels of traffic and commerce, and restore the old ones when they have become paralyzed, has been at work in the South since 1878. The stimulus given it by agriculture, mining, lumbering, and manufactures established "confidence" in our resources, and gold came forth from its hiding and began to seek investment in property, and also consented to leave its concealment in private hoarding and to swell the sum of the deposits in the banks. The holders of gold became investors in property, because silver had begun to establish confidence in the fact that Southern lands were valuable for textiles, grain, iron, coal, and lumber, and that these harvests could be gathered economically, by contented labor, without the aid of banks. The gold-loving Jews swarmed into the country, not to rob it, but to own it. They were "wise in their day and generation."

When the treasury was in distress, during the panic of 1893, because it was compelled to keep up the false pretence that the gold reserve of one hundred million dollars in the treasury was the real foundation of the credit of the United States, instead of the tax-paying power and the patriotism of the people, the secretary of the treasury, unable to get the gold from London, appealed to the Southern bankers for gold, and he got it. Many of those banks refused to close their doors to their depositors during that dreadful financial scourge. Money was rendered useless in keeping the new manufactories in operation, for they were wrecked; but agriculture held its own, because the farmers had silver reserves that made up, in the activity of their circulation, for the sad want of volume in the currency.

If Mr. Sherman, as secretary of the treasury, had put fifty million dollars of silver coin, along with fifty million dollars of gold coin, in the show window of the treasury, to prove to the world the solvency of the United States as a banking institution, he would have saved us from the demand for more bonds than the national banks required to keep the foundations of that system from disappearing.

They would have accepted silver money as one basis of their credit instead of bonds, which they, on a nice point of honor, claimed the right to convert into gold bonds, they being payable in coins of silver, as well as of gold. It was the power thus given to the national banks to force new issues of bonds, at their option, by the degradation of silver as full legal-tender money, that gave tongue to the sudden outcry against the silver dollar.

There has never been a moment since resumption of specie payments was decided upon, when every banker and capitalist in the United States, and many in London, would not have been found ready to raise silver bullion to the commercial parity of gold bullion, at the ratio of sixteen to one, if the government of the United States had signified its honorable and dutiful resolve to pay our debts according to the stipulations printed on their face, at the option of the government. That they would have succeeded in this high duty, without any loss of credit, is not open to doubt, and, in doing this, they would have saved our American people and their industries from the death-grasp of British avarice.

Mr. Sherman made this boasting display of our national wealth in the treasury show-window, without the authority of any law enacted by congress, and at the terrible expense of locking up one hundred million dollars of gold, as so much dead capital, in the vaults of the treasury, thereby increasing its supposed value by decreasing the quantity in circulation, and compelling the people to pay taxes on it while it lay, like a useless scion of royalty, in its gilded prison.

The South and the West, by the use of Bland-Allison silver certificates, which the national banks rejected from their clearing-houses as "unsound money," gave to them such credit that Mr. Sherman had no difficulty in exchanging eighty million dollars of those "inflated balloons," as they are called, for eighty million dollars of gold coin, with which he made up his gold exhibition in the treasury. Silver, after all, had to buy and put in the treasury the gold which has since that time been kept there as a sacred idol; while silver has been a degraded servitor, toiling in the ashes of the sacrificial altars of this new and false god.

The Bland-Allison law had restored the silver dollar to the national coinage and to its full legal-tender power, and the secretary of the treasury, unwilling to execute this law, put up one hundred million dollars in gold coin, and called it a reserve fund in the treasury, as an advertisement to foreign capitalists that the executive department would still

keep the government on the basis of the single gold standard, whatever congress might enact to the contrary. It was an open defiance to the congress that had repealed the act of 1873 over the veto of the president. And yet the Bland-Allison silver certificates were used to purchase eighty million dollars of the gold coin that was used for this purpose.

The South is weary of this round of bond issues which are put forth, at the expense of the people, to keep up this idle show for the mere benefit of gold monometallism; and we are only suffering, as other producing sections of our common country are suffering, from the evils that come to every country from the degradation of either of the precious metals.

Under our present system this one hundred million dollars of useless gold coin, kept as a target for every speculator on both sides of the Atlantic, must be maintained and can be maintained only by forced loans from the people in the form of bonds sustained by taxation. This ceaseless grind must go on, and coming generations are to be loaded with taxation, for the benefit of those who now control our finances. The Southern people, in their heroic efforts to repair their losses in the civil war, are cut off from their brightest hopes by this plan of supporting the government and enriching favored classes on borrowed money. They feel that it is now a terrible burden, and they foresee that it will be still more grievous to their children. Having no local banks of issue, and their capital in real estate being denied all credit in the national banks, by express statute, they look to silver as a debt-paying, legal-tender money, and to silver certificates, giving commercial flexibility and convenience to silver dollars, as the only hope left to them whenever necessity forces them to use their credit in the conduct of their industries.

It is now demonstrated by our experience that there is no possible way to protect the one hundred million dollars of reserved gold in the treasury except to destroy the demand obligations of the United States as fast as they are redeemed, or to announce our purpose to redeem them, at our option, by the payment of the coin specified in those obligations.

The only way to "divorce" the government from its alleged banking business is to withdraw its alleged banking obligations. To do this without the substitution of local bank issues or full legal-tender silver money would simply destroy the whole country. Yet this must be done, it seems, in honor of the golden god that is enthroned in the treasury,

or else his insatiable maw must be constantly refilled with gold coin, by the issue of more bonds, that he may flood it out to the hungry syndicates and speculators who besiege this temple for more profits wrung from the people, and cry out with loud acclaim, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians."

The South refuses to worship at that shrine; and she would not be permitted to do so, if her knees were ready to stoop with such fawning. In our system of finance, the producing classes are excluded from the advantages that are given by law to those who speculate in money, and this curse will rest upon the country until the people are restored to the full measure of their rights, as the same are clearly defined in the constitution of the United States.



## THE SOCIALITY OF JESUS' RELIGION.\*

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE D. HERRON.

The chief characteristic of Biblical religion, from Moses to Jesus, is the revelation of God in the simplest facts of the common life; in the terms of social effort. Fellowship with God is scripturally disclosed in anything but occult or mythological modes, mysterious or theological terms. Both the legal and prophetic revelations of the Old Testament are in terms that are always sociological, and but incidentally theological; in forms distinctly political, having to do with social conditions and political outlooks. Moses has revelations concerning sanitary laws, architecture, marriage relations, land ownership, good government, and the commonwealth of society. Elijah and Isaiah, with all the prophets, are social and national reformers. David is a man of affairs, and Ezekiel a teacher of political ethics. Jesus is simply reared, a carpenter by trade, and seems to live the most domestic of lives in His parental home, and among His friends. His teachings or doctrines have to do with human relations, and are more distinctly economic than what we understand by the term religious. His ideal is social, and His work to redeem men for the righteous society of the earthly kingdom of heaven. He reveals the relation of God to man in the simplest facts and movements of nature, in the ordinary tasks of the common life, in the most explicit terms of economic communism. Christianity comes from Him, not as a theological or ecclesiastical system, but as a revelation of life; not as a cult of worship, but as a social ideal, based upon the sacrifice of service as the natural law of human life.

In religion as a thing in itself Jesus was not interested; rather, He looked with profound distrust upon what was then, and is now, both officially and popularly understood by religion. A religious cult was something He could not tolerate; an official religion was to Him a usurpation. Religious forms and theological dogmas He regarded as matters of little consequence, except as they perverted and oppressed human life. There is no indication that Jesus came expecting to found a new religion, but every indication

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\* From a lecture course to be given in various American cities this winter.

that He came expecting to disclose to men the divine or natural order of human relations. He came, and His disciples were sent, to reveal a new mode of life. Nothing indicates that the people who heard Him gladly, or that the disciples who followed Him, had any thought that a new religion was being founded. The idea of becoming specifically the founder of a new religion was one of the temptations of the devil which Jesus overcame in the wilderness—a temptation to which Mahomet afterward yielded. Jesus never contemplated the organized cult of worship, the great ethnic religion, that has grown up bearing His name. I do not say that this is wholly evil, or that it was not an inevitable historical process in the evolution of the universal society and religion. But it is foreign, and in large measure antagonistic, to anything in the thought or outlook of Jesus.

It was human life that interested Jesus and that seemed to Him, even at its worst, to be the one altogether sacred matter of concern. Every phase and expression of life caught and held His attention to the point of intensest fascination. He revered human life, and spoke with abhorrence of the religion that would conceive of man as made for itself. The call of Jesus was to citizenship in the kingdom of God, which was then the commonly understood Hebrew term for social justice, and which term Jesus used to represent the new and glorious order of life he expected to organize upon earth—glorious because just, and just because social. He thought to show the end and reality of all religion in an organization of human life in which all men should live for the common good. Leaving no cult of worship—in fact avoiding such as the most deadly moral fatality—His blessing was upon those who divinely gave themselves to the service of humanity.

The age that finally changed the revelation of Jesus from a social ideal to an official religion, from a revelation of righteousness to a theological system, was the most licentious and untruthful, the most morally apostate and insanely wicked, in the history of the church. The Nicene council, from which the church received its theology, was so shamelessly immoral, so without sense of right and human honor, as to outrage even Constantine's sense of ethical decency—and he, though styled the first Christian emperor by church fables, almost avowedly atheistic in both morals and intellect, a character that might stand as the historic incarnation of the political genius of evil. It is a long and downward journey from Jesus to Athanasius, longer by far than from Athanasius to either Hildebrand or Calvin.

I do not say that the church has not been receiving moral discipline, yet to bear its best fruit, during these centuries of wandering in the wilderness of theology and ecclesiastical politics. But we need to understand that this wilderness, in which we still wander among the bones of our fathers, is not the land of social promise which Jesus viewed for His nation, and His human race. We need also to realize, at this moment of greatest human effort toward righteousness, that we are false to the faith of Jesus, infidel to His doctrines of human life, and recreant to His social ideal, to suffer the past to circumscribe our fundamental thought and religious work. It is not simply that I have the same right to think and act that Athanasius and Calvin had, but that I am under the same obligation to God and man to think and act in the freedom of Jesus. The moral recovery of the church from Greek and Roman theology, with the restoration of the simple religion and social ideal of Jesus to Christendom, is the process at work in modern society, and is the beatific religion which, though dimly seen, is yet mightily and hopefully attracting the common life.

The sociality of life was Jesus' fundamental religious conception. The sociality of religion is the revelation of Jesus' religious experience, and is the realization of His kingdom. His teaching did not come into the world as something new, but as an interpretation of that which is eternal in all religion; it came as a programme for the simple organization of all religious facts and forces in a redeemed and natural human life. Christianity began, so far as it issued from Jesus, not as a new religion, but as a revelation of human life in a social ideal. The whole law of man's relation to God, the knowledge of which law had hitherto been fragmentary, Jesus came declaring. To reveal the sociality of religion, he taught by deed and word.

The realization of religion in a human kingdom of heaven was the service to which He gave His life a faultless sacrifice. In neither the Old Testament nor the New Testament, does the term kingdom of God or kingdom of heaven mean anything else than a righteous society upon earth. Nothing else was either meant or understood by Jesus' teaching to the people, or to His immediate disciples. The term was commonly used to signify a perfect social justice—a justice to be fully realized when the Messiah should come. It was expected that He, whenever He came, or whoever He might prove to be, would bring in a social order so just, so free from oppression and righteous in freedom, that it would prove to be nothing else than the direct reign of God in

human affairs, the manifest and indisputable setting of His government in the world. While Jesus' ideal of the kingdom was surpassingly purer than the popular and orthodox ideal, and His conception of the kingdom's law and methods radically different, it was none the less the same kingdom of heaven He intended. He did not expect, nor did He once lead the people to expect, anything other than the realization of the kingdom of heaven as a holy society of universal justice on the earth.

Many of Jesus' sayings are an assimilation and living reproduction, a rich bloom and perfect fruit, of what was best and hid in current Hebrew teaching. He had abundantly fed His spirit upon the thoughts of Isaiah, and had formed His ideals in part from that prophet's glowing visions of the redeemed nation, leading the world into a regenerated civilization. He talked in an ethical and social language that was then no more unknown to the Hebrew church than it is now, in another way, to the Christian church. It was the language of the redeemed society, calling men to repentance as the condition of its realization; the tongue of the kingdom of God, calling men to a new moral birth as the first condition of citizenship. For the redemption of human life to this holy society, He endured the cross, with His glorious disgrace, and gained the secret of power. Through the knowledge that His broken life and shed blood would be the living meat and drink of the world, that out of the travail of His soul would finally issue the salvation of the righteous society, He carried with joy the shame heaped upon Him by a faithless church and nation. For this He drank His cup of sorrow to the dregs, bore without murmuring the sufferings by which He learned obedience, and went shelterless into the assailing storms of avenging evil. The righting of human wrong, the realization of the brotherhood of human life, was the sanctifying motive that raised Him to the moral glory of the cross.

The sociality of experience is, then, a fundamental fact of Jesus' religion. We cannot hold fellowship with God apart from the particulars of our occupation and career; apart from our daily relations with men and things. Our religious experience is without value except it comprehend, change, and ethically glorify the actual facts of life. Religious experiences outside the terms of work and fact are a fiction and an evil, leading men and religion astray, and leaving human life unredeemed in the hands of its enemies. We know the legend that Julian the emperor once said that it is much easier to worship Jesus than to obey Him: Whether

the saying be Julian's or not, it is true in Christian history and experience. It is easy to be worshipfully or professionally religious; to be just and righteous is quite another matter. Religion is relations, and a right relation with God is primarily a right relation with human life, where the God of man is. The sociality of religious experience is its value alike to God and man; its sociality is the true measure of its reality.

The religious, because social, test of life is in the quality of our relations with our fellowmen, of all sorts and conditions. The test comes to us amidst our work in the school, the factory, the mine, the workshop, the farm; amidst the highly respectable dishonesties of the counting-room, and the wretched integrities of commercial conceit; amidst the average pastorate, where the sweet lies of pastoral politeness become habitual before recognized, destroying both intellectual and ethical manhood, and often putting a reputable moral emaciation in the place of a man; amidst the home experiences, which more than all else are the social fountain, and where our lives falsify our ideals. To be morally splendid in the heat of public conflict, in the thick of controversy or viewed battle, even in martyr-fire and dungeon chain, is infinitely easier than to fulfil the sacrifice of service in the daily rounds of the common life. A small and generally deceitful matter it is to become the leader of official religion, to endow great philanthropies, to be known and honored by the successful; but to fulfil the common career as a social function is to make human life a glory of God. It is not so great a moral triumph to have faith to remove mountains, to live sheltered and protected religious devotees, to give our bodies to be burned for truth's sake, as it is to love the unloving and unlovable; to become divine incarnations in the common life, and glorify God by glorifying that.

That the banker does not open his bank in the morning with the doxology, that the legislation of the state is not worded in religious phraseology, that the carpenter does not saw off each board with the Lord's prayer, that the merchant does not dismiss his customers with a benediction, that the judge does not convene court with chapters from Leviticus, that the insurance company does not print the Sermon on the Mount in its policies, renders these operations none the less social sacraments and rituals of justice. Whoever casts from his bank door, or barn door, or factory door, or club-house door, or political caucus door, or ball-room door, or kitchen door, or bedroom door, the social

shrine, is so far an atheist. For atheism is God-out-ness from life; and religion is God-in-ness in relations, making every human act and intercourse a religious rite.

While I do not forget that ours is a world of stern fact and toil, with the gulf between the real and the ideal greater than the purest and strongest seem able to pass, while to the truest and bravest, life often seems a slow, wearisome, sadful school of disenchantment, and that there is bread to be earned with children to be reared, I yet remember that amidst sternest conditions of life has the glory of the Lord shone round about the sons of men. It was in the midst of hardest experiences that the ethical reality of Jesus' life was evolved. His moral glory was in the fact that it was an incarnation of, as well as in, the common life. While Herod and Pilate rule the state, with wicked Caiaphas and prudent Nicodemus in the church, and Gamaliel in the schools, the Messiah comes with the familiar accents of the common life, a carpenter's son, with a peasant education, a simple man of the people.

There comes to me often in these days an appeal of John Calvin, the most maligned man of history, whose picture looks down upon me, in the little room where I study, like some great sorrowful majestic angel of judgment. The appeal, made to the king who had banished this sweetest and gentlest of spirits, as well as stern witness to the government of God over human life, was this: "I plead the cause of all the faithful, nay the cause of Christ, which is at the present time so completely rent and trampled under foot throughout your kingdom that it seems to be in a very desperate case." But to us comes a grander, more immediate and historical appeal—the appeal of the Christ in the wronged and tormented human life of our nation and generation; the appeal of the Christ, not for reformation and separation, but for regeneration, and collective aspiration and effort toward the realization of the kingdom of heaven on the earth. By all the voices that articulate the social need and strain, the social woe and threat, God summons us to the matchless work of the divine organization of human life by the facts and forces of the religion of Jesus.

We are nearing the social crisis of the world; it is also the crisis of Christ's religion. The forces of selfishness and sacrifice are gathering for their supreme struggle on the field of Christ's truth, while the cross has become foolishness to the church which bears His name. The church has become of the world even as He was not of the world. Things which are an abomination in the sight of God are



now no more highly esteemed in the world than in the church, and the church has been reconciling itself to the will of the world rather than vicariously reconciling the world to the will of God.

We can no longer expect that we, in the midst of this material civilization and its religion, can be in accord with commercial and social customs, political and religious opinions, any more than the disciples who followed Jesus through His conflict with Jewish religion, and then went abroad as witnesses and martyrs in Roman civilization. Christless institutions and interests will hold deadly hate toward the faithful disciple of to-day as truly as they hated the disciples who were sent from Olivet to convert the nations. If the organized wrong of the world is not against us, then Christ is not in us. No disciple, in any sphere of life, can be at peace with present social wrongs, with the religious apostasies that would rob Jesus' name of its glory, and at the same time have the peace of God. The peace which springs from faith in Christ is peace in the midst of conflict and tribulation; it is not the world's kind of peace; it is the peace that carries the sword of righteousness in its hand. Only by taking this sword, selling its garments of pride and luxury for its purchase, and returning to the work of the kingdom of God, can the church be the organ through which Christ's religion will accomplish the work given it to do. There is a vast heroism sleeping in the church, and the world is full of Messianic potencies struggling for expression in civilization. To these there comes the most historic and creative of opportunities for the victory of failure under the leadership of Jesus.

Human life is now so settled in discontent with individualistic principles and competitive practices, so glowing with Messianic forces, so near to breathing the heavenly breath and watchful for the holy city, that it often seems that if the many sons of God now committed to the social redemption could find some way to make one supreme associate sacrifice, fully illustrative of the social law, they might lift the whole organism into a living social vision, so appealing and commanding that it would renew the strength of the common life to enter upon the strifeless progress of the ransomed society.

## VACCINATION AN ERROR—ITS COMPULSION A WRONG.

### SECOND PART.

BY ALFRED MILNES, M. A.

(*Concluded.*)

I pass to the second part of my contention, and now affirm that the compulsion of vaccination is a wrong; and I put my reasons for that conclusion into the comprehensive statement that the justifications of it are false. As before, but still more briefly, I proceed to state them as I find them urged by compulsionists, appending a few words of reply to each.

*Justification 1: Unanimity of the Medical Profession.*—The doctors, we are told, are unanimously against us, and surely they ought to know, and we ought to submit our judgment to theirs. But I reply that the very reverse is true. So far from the medical profession being unanimous on the question, there could hardly be found a matter within the limits of which more numerous and more fundamental differences are to be found between different members of the profession. I venture to affirm that no proposition can be framed with respect to the theory or the practice of vaccination, but its direct contradictory could be quoted from pro-vaccinal medical works of equal authority.

In answer to the question, "How many marks should be made on the child's arm?" we find among physicians of unimpeachable vaccinal orthodoxy, that Drs. Drysdale and Lee say "One," Dr. Adam of Liverpool says "Two," Dr. Greenhalgh of London says "Three," the Local Government Board demands four, Dr. Sandwith of Wandsworth says "Five," Dr. Debenham of London says "Six," Dr. Curschmann, the great German authority, says "Twelve, six on each arm," and Dr. Bond of Gloucester says "The more the better." Thus has vaccine progressed, from the original single scratch of Jenner, which any old woman could make with a darning needle, up to an apotheosis of tattoo.

How often must it be repeated to secure immunity? And

you can select any answer you please from the "once only" of the original Jenner, through the single or puberty repetition of Seaton, up to the "vaccinization" of Warlomont, or repetition every four months till no further result is attained, and whereby the last shred of the immortal Jenner is flung to the winds; your attention being here attracted by the way by a very pretty quarrel between Sir William Jenner, advising revaccination whenever there is an epidemic, and Dr. Guy, before quoted, declaring vaccination during epidemics to be useless or worse.

If you inquire as to the lymph to be used, you will once more let Babel loose. Horse-grease cowpox, spontaneous cowpox, horse-grease pure and simple, the form of human smallpox known as swine-pox, cattle plague, horse-pox, sheep-pox, smallpox-cowpox, an erysipelatous swelling on the thigh of a sucking colt, tartar-emetic vaccine, vegetable vaccine—all have been actually used and most have had their serious advocates. The choice is ample; the law gives you no definition, and I would not presume to offer advice. Only remember that you must have the right one or it is no good at all.

The theories of the alleged protection, though not quite so great in number, are fully as internecine in their strife as the lymphs themselves. There is the generally received exhaustion-of-pabulum theory, the secretion-of-antidote theory of Klebs, the education-of-tissues theory, or the theory of the training of the phagocytes, any one of which you may adopt as your justification for feeling disappointed if you take smallpox after being vaccinated with some one or all, or any permutation or combination of any or all, of the aforesaid lymphs. In truth the unanimity is confined to this, that while every doctor denounces the practice of every other doctor as being in some respect useless or dangerous, they all agree in denouncing me for agreeing with too many of them at once.

Unanimity does not exist. But suppose it did, what then? It would not be the first time that the no less unanimous profession had been as unanimously wrong. They were unanimous once about inoculation; and the very law that now enforces vaccination provides for a month's imprisonment of any one of them who might now try to go back to the old unanimous faith. They were unanimous once about bleeding; and this unanimous blunder was erected into a fetish and to it were sacrificed hecatombs of human victims. Its memory is perpetuated in the name of the *Lancet*, the principal medical paper of England, which

thus, so far as the infallibility implied in compulsory powers is concerned, week by week cries stinking fish in open market. Unanimity does not exist, and if it did could not justify compulsion against our plea that the medical profession does not come to us with a record sufficiently reassuring to tempt us to lay at its feet our right of private judgment and our own sacred responsibilities in a matter affecting the welfare of the little atom of helplessness which, while we think the problem over, smiles in our face and trusts us.

*Justification II: The Unvaccinated are a Public Danger.*—It is held that if a man lived alone, we might allow him to have smallpox at his pleasure; but that as we live in societies we cannot permit the unvaccinated to take a disease which they may communicate to others; and therefore we are forced to compel vaccination in self-defence. To this I reply that no man can give away what he has not got. The unvaccinated must have smallpox before their having it can be a danger to anyone else. And where are they to get it from? They must either, in each community, receive it from the vaccinated, or else, for that community, it must originate amongst their own class. But the evidence is overwhelming that when smallpox attacks a community it does not commence with the unvaccinated. When the great pandemic struck the town of Bonn, the first unvaccinated case to occur stood No. 42 in the chronological order of the cases. At Cologne the first unvaccinated case was No. 173. At Leignitz the first unvaccinated case was No. 224. Whilst when we come nearer home we have such outbreaks as that at Bromley, before alluded to, where every man and mother's son attacked had been vaccinated. The stream runs from the wolf to the lamb, and none but lupine logic can convict the lamb of making it muddy for the wolf to drink.

But further, this accusation gives up the whole case for vaccination. What is vaccination to do? Is it to protect, or only to mitigate? If it is to protect, then how can the unvaccinated be a danger to those whose vaccination protects them from attack? Whereas if the claim is that it only mitigates, then so far as contagion is concerned, one case of smallpox is like another, and the unmitigated, because unvaccinated, cases are neither more nor less of a public danger than the vaccinally mitigated ones. This being so, the public has no more concern with my choosing to take my smallpox without mitigation than with my taking my coffee without milk. The fact is that it is next to

impossible to find any living soul who does really believe in vaccination. The plentitude of fear shows paucity of faith. And when a man declares, as a man did a little while ago declare in London, that he had been vaccinated five times, but that there was one thing he would not do if he could help it, and that was to live in the same parish with an unvaccinated child, he demonstrated with an eloquence I cannot hope to rival that his faith in vaccination was on a level with my own. Your zeal in public enforcement is a measure of your private unbelief. Vaccination is either good or bad. And its goodness removes the need, as its badness destroys the right, of enforcement on the unwilling.

Defeated on all the other counts, the last plea is virtually an appeal *ad misericordiam*. I pass to the consideration of *Justification III: It Does No Harm*.—We enter here upon a portion of our subject where satire dies upon the saddened lip and sorrow reigns supreme. It is also the portion where the batteries of modern investigation have been turned with the most ruinous effect upon the fortresses of the old beliefs and the old assertions. And as a consequence efforts have of course been made to show that no such plea has been urged by any who have been of recognized authority. But equally of course the allegation is false, and also of course it comes too late. No less a writer than Mr. Simon, in the Papers from which I have already quoted, says, speaking of the advantages of vaccination, that "against this vast gain there is no loss to count"; and I venture to think that no assertion ever did more to rivet the bolts of our compulsory vaccination. Persistent denial, both general, as against all injury or any, and special, as against the possibility of the vaccinal communication of certain special diseases, has pervaded the profession. In the same Papers Mr. Simon also wrote, "I must say I believe it to be utterly impossible, save under circumstances of gross and punishable misconduct, for any other infection than that of cowpox to be communicated in what pretends to be the performance of vaccination." And in respect of the communication by vaccine of the most terrible of human contagia, the same eminent authority quotes, without, by the way, a word of disapproval, numerous experiments, heartlessly and treacherously performed with hideous results on the children of the helpless poor, with the purpose of showing such communication to be impossible. The names quoted are all those of men in the front rank of the contest, including Blache, Heim, Taupin, Rochot, Debar, Bousquet, Sigmund, and many others. And coming down to more modern times

I find in a pamphlet, now lying before me, entitled "Facts concerning Vaccination, for Heads of Families, revised by the Local Government Board, and issued with their sanction," the express declaration: "The fear that a foul disease may be implanted by vaccination is an unfounded one. . . . The alleged injury arising from vaccination is indeed disproved by all medical experience." Such have been the uncompromising declarations; turn we now to facts.

In the returns of the Registrar-General for England there is now a regular and permanent heading for deaths from "Cowpox and other effects of Vaccination." The entry began in 1881, since which time there have been recorded, on the basis of death certificates signed by medical men themselves, no less than 418 deaths. This is in itself, look at it as we will, a terrible loss of infant life. But unhappily we know that this is very far from being the true total of the death-roll. We know that when publicly conducted inquiry has brought home the fact of a death as caused by vaccination, it has brought home another truth as well, and has shown that the death-certificate did not assign the true cause, or only assigned a part of it. In fact, the advice to omit all mention of vaccination in the certificates of such cases has been published by one medical newspaper in England, and never repudiated by any other; the bald reason being given, to save vaccination from reproach. Hence, to appreciate the harm attributable to vaccination we have two things to do. We must turn to the general records of infant mortality in order to get some rough estimate of the number of the fatalities, and then, to learn their nature, we must hearken to the description of individual cases in which disaster has been admitted as beyond question. Both things are possible. For there are two parliamentary returns (No. 392, Sess. 2, 1880, and No. 372 of 1888) which set forth the deaths of infants under one year old, calculated "per million births," from various diseases of which it has been alleged that they are capable of causation or aggravation by vaccination, for each year from 1847 to 1886. The two papers form together a very bulky document, far too long for insertion here; but it is easy to give in small space the essence of them so far as our present purpose is concerned. For they embrace a space of seven years, 1847-53, of voluntary vaccination, not enforced by law and comparatively little practised by the people; then a period of fourteen years, 1854-67, of the operation of the first compulsory law, that of 1853, during which vaccination was obligatory, but very imperfectly



enforced; and lastly, a period of nineteen years, 1868-86, of real and rigid compulsion. Such periods are real and natural periods to take for comparison, for they correspond to actual changes in vaccine law. Of course it will be remembered that a calculation per million births needs no correction for increasing population; hence we can take the averages of these periods and see what will be the result for some of these diseases. The results appear in the subjoined table:

## ENGLAND AND WALES.

*Average yearly Deaths under One Year of Age per 1,000,000 Births, from the undermentioned causes.*

		Syphilis.	Ery- sipelas.	Skin Disease.	Scrofula.	Mesenteric Disease.
Voluntary vaccination, 1847-53,		564	817	168	351	2,981
Obligatory " 1854-67,		1,206	781	253	611	3,385
Enforced " 1868-86,		1,788	785	387	1,037	4,426

We find, then, that for four out of five of these diseases, a terrible increase has taken place, and that that increase corresponds in time periods with the increase in the stringency of the regulations for enforcing vaccination. And it is thus for the defenders of vaccine to disprove if they can the apparently obvious conclusion, which can hardly escape being drawn by anyone who, consciously or unconsciously, appreciates the method of concomitant variations. Of course we must not attribute to vaccination the whole of this increase. Under the head of syphilis, for example, there will be allowance to be made for differences of diagnosis and nomenclature. But it is no longer disputed that vaccination is a *vera causa*. That is now acknowledged on all hands, and in some quarters it is even declared that there never was any denial of it—a declaration whose worth has already been demonstrated. So great an authority as Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson—and on syphilis there is no greater—has published accounts of not merely individual cases, but of more than one series of cases. And so late as October, 1890, in his *Archives of Surgery*, he declared that the amount of such cases is in his opinion "infinitesimally small" (a point whereon we take leave to say that statisticians will draw their own conclusions), yet the risk of them cannot be obviated by any amount of care in the practice of arm-to-arm vaccination, and that "it is a cruel injustice to imply that all accidents have been the result of carelessness." Turning to the columns for skin disease, scrofula, and mesenteric disease, we have figures which tell their own tale. The column for erysipelas needs a more careful glance for its interpretation. It would seem that

there is here no increase to be attributed to vaccination or anything else. But erysipelas is declining at all ages in England, and an explanation is wanted of the persistence at the very early age of under twelve months. On this much light is thrown by the history of "Vaccinal Erysipelas," the head under which deaths from vaccination were recorded in the returns before the present heading of "Cowpox and other results of Vaccination" came into use. And the history is given here:

*Deaths from "Erysipelas after Vaccination."*

1859 . . . . .	5	1870 . . . . .	20
1860 . . . . .	3	1871 . . . . .	24
1861 . . . . .	2	1872 . . . . .	16
1862 . . . . .	3	1873 . . . . .	19
1863 . . . . .	11	1874 . . . . .	29
1864 . . . . .	13	1875 . . . . .	37
1865 . . . . .	10	1876 . . . . .	21
1866 . . . . .	10	1877 . . . . .	29
1867 . . . . .	4	1878 . . . . .	35
1868 . . . . .	9	1879 . . . . .	32
1869 . . . . .	19	1880 . . . . .	39

So that here the evidence is complete and the conclusion unavoidable. It is the vaccinal erysipelas which is maintaining the infant, in spite of a decline in the all-age, death-rate from that disease.

And now lastly, and saddest of all, what are these cases like? We hear much medical eloquence upon the horrors of smallpox; what are the horrors of vaccination? Few things can be more terrible than vaccination at its worst. Again I call to witness Mr. Hutchinson. In the *Archives of Surgery* for October, 1889, he gives us an account of three fatal cases of vaccination. We need only extract a few words as they stand from the plain, simple medical diary of one of them. This child was vaccinated late in May, was taken ill on the 24th of June, and died on the 17th of August. And we read:

*August 14.*—Has emaciated rapidly. Temperature continues normal. Very irritable; little, if any, sleep; crying almost constantly unless lulled.

15.—Is pinched and wan in appearance; color almost leaden. Irritability continues. Vomiting and purging. Head moved restlessly on nurse's arm; no sleep; low, moaning cry almost constant.

16.—A few quiet intervals during the night, but no real sleep; tossing head from side to side at times; constant low, moaning cry. Has emaciated with shocking rapidity. . . . Died quietly, without fit of any kind, at 1.20 on the 17th.

Compulsory vaccination is sometimes defended on the ground that "The children belong to the State." Will, then,

that "pinched and wan appearance" be to the State a tracking memory, never to be shaken off? Will that "constant low, moaning cry" ring in the ears of the State, haunt the dreams of the State, break the heart of the State, and bow the head of the State in sorrow before its time? Surely not; but it will do all that for the mother. Then turn we from the narratives of the doctors whose hands have wrought the wrong to a mother's simple tale of sorrow. In October, 1883, three children died at Great Cornard, in Suffolk; and this is from the statement of Ellen Griggs, the mother of the third child who died:

"I sent a message to Dr. Mason that my baby was ill. When Mrs. Hills came back she told me the doctor laughed, and said my baby would be all right if I took care of it. Baby, however, gradually got worse. Her left hand was swollen as big as an orange. . . . On Thursday fits came on and screaming. The fits continued, and she screamed so violently that she lost her voice. Her little lips moved, but there was no sound. On Saturday Dr. Mason saw her, and on Sunday, when it was evident she was dying. She died on Monday, November 5, twelve days after her first sickness, and three weeks after her vaccination."

It would be hard to surpass, within the range of English literature, the pathos of this tale. The voiceless pleading of those poor dumb lips where the silence of death has settled on the living agony, reads like the creation of a nightmare.

So far, then, from there being "no loss to count," so far from there being "a few slight accidents" to mar the evenly prosperous course of vaccination, the disasters are both numerous and terrible—how numerous exactly no man will ever know. But the poor know best, and hence among them a dread of this thing which passes expression. How great that dread can be we know by its results. In the *London Daily Chronicle* of Aug. 26, 1882, may be read the report of the suicide of one Mary Clarke, and the murder by her (for so the law describes it) of her infant child. The facts were simply that Mary Clarke was destitute or nearly so. She believed that she had lost one child by vaccination. And on her in her helplessness was served a vaccination summons. And under that summons she would be fined, for the non-vaccination of her infant, the sum of twenty shillings and costs. Poor Mary! you might as well have asked her for payment of the national debt. Her dread of vaccination was independent of any propaganda by anti-vaccination societies, for if she had known of any of our organizations she would have known where to seek help and would never have been left alone in her trouble. With

neither money nor friends, what could she do? So she raised the floor of her room, and in a cistern beneath she drowned her infant and herself. And in their death they were not divided, and the majesty of medical law was vindicated. Thus that law which causes not a moment's anxiety to any man with a pound in his pocket or a friend by his side, which is laughed to scorn in Leicester, which is dead and buried and forgotten in Keighley, showed that it could still strike, that it still has real terrors for the helpless, helpless, friendless, poor.

This law was never demanded by the people. It was smuggled onto the statute book through the House of Lords. It is the work of that curse of civilization, the superior person, whose function it is to concoct tangles with an airy ease which the democracy has with infinite labor to undo. The grotesque inequality of such a law is evident on the face of it, but not so evident is its innate cowardice. The doctors who agree in nothing connected with it, come nearer to agreeing as to the need of revaccination than about anything else. Yet they dare not force revaccination on the adult. Compulsion is confined to the helpless child, to the deep disgrace of all and each who permit that to be done to their babies which they would not suffer for themselves. It is an immoral law, for it puts honor up at auction with a reserve price of twenty shillings on it. A moral pestilence is worse than a physical one; and it is a moral pestilence that is being spread when the law comes to a poor man and bids him take twenty shillings in one hand and in the other the love and trust of the little twining arms about his neck, and choose between the two. The very success of such a law is its greatest condemnation, for it only ceases to be vain and empty where it breaks a conscience down.

# A BATTLE FOR SOUND MORALITY.

FINAL PAPER.

BY HELEN H. GARDENER.

## TENNESSEE.

The Secretary of State sends me the following :

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

NASHVILLE, TENN., June 29, 1895.

In reply to yours of the 26th inst. will say: Our legislature, just adjourned, took no action in regard to the age-of-consent law. But the legislature of two years ago passed an act raising the age from thirteen years to sixteen years and one day. The majority age in this state is twenty-one years.

Yours truly,

WILLIAM S. MORGAN, *Secretary of State.*

Since, however, I have been as yet unable to secure the full text of the law, I am not sure that Tennessee really belongs with the states which have actually grasped the basic principle of this legislation, and acted upon it. Before printing the final black-list map, I shall wish to know the wording of the law in Tennessee.\*

## MISSISSIPPI.

Mississippi claims to belong in the list of those who protect their children until they are sixteen, but in response to us she sends the text of a law which in no sense places her there. It is a seduction law; the girl must prove "previous chaste character," and "her testimony alone shall not be sufficient for conviction." Now, since offences of this nature are not usually committed in the presence of witnesses, it appears to me that the law is worthless. It is certainly not an age-of-consent law which protects the girls of Mississippi until they are sixteen. Mississippi had no session this year, but it is to be hoped she will act promptly and effectively in 1896. This information was sent to

\* The text secured after going to press shows that in point of fact the age in Tennessee is in reality twelve years, but that under certain conditions — which void the issue — the offence is a finable felony if the girl can prove good character and if her statement is supported by others — if she has witnesses, which is never likely, of course.

me in response to a request to show that Mississippi had established the age at sixteen :

Sec. 1004. Seduction of female children under sixteen:— Any person who shall seduce and have illicit connection with any female child under the age of sixteen years, *of previous chaste character*, shall upon conviction be imprisoned in the penitentiary not more than ten years; but the testimony of the female seduced alone shall not be sufficient for conviction. Annotated Code of Mississippi, 1892.

### WASHINGTON.

The report from Washington is brief, but the text of the law now in force is clear, and covers the point properly.

In the session of 1895 the effort was made to raise the age to eighteen, but it failed, Senator Horr remarking that women already had all the protection needed. Senator Range, Senator Harper, and Miss Page, of Olympia, were among those who worked with Senator Belknap and Representative Heath, of Chehalis County, the latter of whom introduced the bill to change the age from sixteen to eighteen years, leaving the law, which is given below by the secretary of state, otherwise unchanged. No fuller report has been sent except in letters of a private nature. At the next session it is believed that the age will be changed to eighteen, and that boys under eighteen will be excluded from the full penalty in cases where violence is not used, and their punishment be either left to the court or be less severe, and be so stated in the law.

### STATE OF WASHINGTON.

#### OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

OLYMPIA, April 20, 1895.

In reply to yours of recent date, I beg to say that the legal age in this state for the purposes of marriage is eighteen years. The laws of this state for 1885-86 read: "If any person ravish or carnally know any female of the age of sixteen years or more, by force or against her will, or carnally know and abuse any female child under the age of sixteen years, he shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for life or for any term of years."

Yours very respectfully,

J. H. PRICE, *Secretary of State.*

### SOUTH DAKOTA.

South Dakota reports that the age there is now sixteen. The same reports come from Illinois and the District of Columbia. The text of the Illinois law was not sent; the only one we could obtain is of date 1887, and places the age at fourteen years. There is a unique feature attached. Following and added to the punishment of imprisonment is the degradation of permanent disfranchisement, withdrawal of the power to hold office, serve on jury, etc. That is, *as a punishment for rape a man is made the legal and political equal of a woman.*



## ARKANSAS.

Arkansas had a fight this year, but failed. I am inclined to think that in the condition of the bill when it was put to vote it is well that it did fail, for I believe a better one can be passed by such staunch and able men as were its friends this session, and who will be even better prepared next time to resist such an amendment, and also to protect the boys. The report from Arkansas, made by Senator Granberry, M. D., is one of the best sent from any state, and his supplementary arguments and those of some of his colleagues are not surpassed, but space forbids their presentation here. Next year I hope to give them with the pictures of the men who shall then have won the battle.

THE "AGE-OF-CONSENT" ACT IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
OF THE STATE OF ARKANSAS.

BY SENATOR G. W. GRANBERRY, M. D., OF THE 12TH DISTRICT.

The twenty-ninth General Assembly of the State of Arkansas passed the following act, raising the age of consent from twelve years to sixteen years, and such is now the law. The act reads as follows:

"Every person convicted of carnally knowing or abusing any female person under sixteen years, shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for a period of not less than five nor more than twenty-one years." Sandel's & Hill's Digest, Sec. 1865.

Early in the session of the legislature just closed, Mr. Bratton of White County introduced the following as an amendment to Section 1865:

"Every person convicted of carnally knowing or abusing any female person under sixteen years of *previously chaste character*, shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary for a period of not less than *one year* nor more than *five years*." The only difference in the amendment proposed above from the law now in force, are the words *previously chaste character*, other than the lowering of the penalty. The above was known as House Bill No. 115. Mr. Pope, of White County, offered an amendment to House Bill No. 115, by striking out *sixteen years*, and inserting *eighteen years*. The amendment was adopted, and became a part of the bill, and in this shape the measure came up in regular order for discussion. It was urged in favor of the lower penalty that convictions would be more certain, and the law be made more effective, as the penalty was considered excessive by many, and juries would be loath to find convictions. To this view the friends of the bill offered no serious objection, but they did most strenuously insist that the lowering of the penalty was an additional argument for raising the age to eighteen years. Those who most vigorously opposed the bill in its amended form, raising the age, were Mr. Manning, of Monroe, Mr. Bradley, of Clark, Mr. Goodwin, of Lincoln, and Mr. Gray, of Pulaski County. The usual stock arguments were urged against it, especially that designing females under eighteen years would entrap unwary youths, and thus blackmail them into marriage, or else extort money for their silence; this was, in fact, about the only argument that needed to be seriously answered. Among those who as vigorously supported the measure in the Lower House were Dr. Dunavant, of Mississippi, Mr. Pope, of White, Mr. McGehu, of Lincoln, and the

brilliant young representative from Lonoke County, the youngest member of the legislature, Mr. Joe T. Robinson.

In point of ability and in oratorical powers the advocates of female chastity and purity were the peers of any on the floor of the House, and they made a splendid fight for the passage of the bill. The first move made by the enemies of the bill was to move a reconsideration of the vote by which the amendment raising the age of consent to eighteen years was adopted, which prevailed, and upon a *viva voce* vote the amendment was rejected. It was intended to demand the ayes and nays, but the speaker *pro tem.*, Mr. Newton, of Pulaski County, ruled that the motion was carried, before Mr. Pope, who was the author of the amendment, could secure recognition to demand that a recorded vote be taken.

After the amendment was stricken out, and the age of consent left at sixteen years, the bill was passed lowering the penalty without further opposition, and in this shape was sent into the senate. It was read first time and placed upon the calendar. Senator Granberry, of Lonoke County, asked unanimous consent to call up the bill and have it read the second time, which was granted. He then offered an amendment to strike out sixteen years, and insert eighteen years. He was warmly seconded, in his efforts to have the amendment adopted, by the distinguished president of that body, Senator Witt of Montgomery, Senator Quinney of Bradley, Senator Pettigrew of Franklin, and Senator Blackburn of Benton County. The amendment was adopted, and the bill passed the senate by the following votes: Ayes—Senators Adams, Blackburn, Cazort, Gray, Granberry, Hathcock, Izard, Liddel, Mehaffey, Morton, Pettigrew, Pinnix, Sloan, Weaver, Wilson, Williams, B. D., Word, Mr. President (Witt)—18: Nays—Senators Amis, King, Scott, Shell, Williams, A. B., Williamson, Worthen—7. Absent and not voting—9. Senator Quinney, one of the most ardent friends of the measure, was kept away from the senate chamber by sickness and was thus denied the pleasure of voting in the affirmative.

Having passed the senate by this decisive vote, it was returned to the house for final action. Mr. Pope called the bill up after it reached the house, and the amendment was adopted on the 9th of April, and made a special order for the 10th, after reading the journal. This was the last day of the session. During the last week of the session a train of unfortunate circumstances threw the house into great confusion, and conspired to prevent intelligent consideration of any measure. The friends of the bill were sanguine of its passage, and from this very cause, no doubt, were not as watchful of its interest as they otherwise would have been. The session closed at twelve o'clock M. on the 10th of April. The house was in great confusion, the enemies of the bill were on the alert, when someone moved a suspension of the rules, which carried, and another bill was taken up, and thus House Bill No. 115 lost its right of way to immediate consideration. When it was finally reached, the end was so near that little could be done, when someone moved to indefinitely postpone the bill. The motion carried, when in fact but few members knew what was being voted upon. Even after the adjournment of the legislature some of its friends insisted that it had passed the house. I took the trouble to examine the record, but by a singular omission the name of the mover of the motion to indefinitely postpone was omitted. When asked the reason for the omission the journal clerk could only say it was by accident. As to the cause of such omission the reader can draw his own conclusion, though it must be conceded in behalf of the clerk, that the confusion in the hall was such that it was difficult to hear anything. It was very evident all along that if the measure could have been brought to a vote

in the house, after it came back from the senate, it would have passed by a handsome majority. This was freely admitted by some of its bitterest enemies. Its final defeat was deeply regretted by all who hold it to be the highest duty of the state to protect the homes of its citizens from pollution. The fight in the house was sharp and bitter from start to finish, and the gentlemen who championed the cause of the unprotected girls most thoroughly demolished the plausible sophistries offered by its enemies.

We will now consider the main objections urged against raising the age to eighteen years. First, it was claimed that the number of unprotected girls being so small, as compared with more densely populated states, no additional legislation was necessary; and second, that designing and unprincipled females under eighteen years would entrap unwary and unsuspecting youths and blackmail them into marriage, or else extort money for their silence. To the first objection, it was very ably shown by the supporters of the measure, that while the number of girls who had to leave the paternal roof and a mother's care—forced by hard necessity that knows no law—to go out and work for a living, might not be so large as in the older and more densely populated states, there was a large number in proportion to population, and the numbers were rapidly increasing. As has been well said by Dr. Emily Blackwell, and in substance, if not in the exact language, in the very able speech of Mr. McGehee on the floor of the House of Representatives:—"There is no class in society so helpless, so surrounded by temptation, as young working girls just growing up. They are surrounded by a network of snares and pitfalls. This is the class which is coveted as a prey by the licentious and by those who live by pandering to licentiousness." Truer words were never spoken, and should sink deep into the hearts of every lover of humanity.

It must ever remain, as it has always been in the past, that the great mass of the population of our state, as of all the states in the Union, will be poor in this world's goods, and that thousands in the future, as in the past, will have to struggle with poverty, and in that struggle girls of young and tender years, as pure and innocent as yours and mine, will have to work in the factories, in the stores, in the hotels and boarding-houses, coming in contact with all sorts of people, some, alas! watching for victims to indulge their brutal lusts. The state should throw every safeguard around them possible. It should do this outside of all considerations of morality and personal purity, which are potent reasons in themselves, but for *economic* reasons. It is the bounden duty of the state to protect the lives and health of her people, and especially of that class who work for a living and are the mainstay of the Republic in times of danger. Then again, when one contemplates the number of hapless victims that fill the brothels and vile dens, dragged down in their immature years, common humanity calls aloud for protection. Medical organizations and medical men in large numbers are moving in the matter, and are clearly and forcibly pointing out how the health of the nation may become largely contaminated, through hereditary influences, which calls for immediate action. The fact is too plain and clear to need further elaboration, that thousands of immature girls, just passing through the transition period that divides childhood from womanhood are being dragged down from a state of purity to one of pollution, and every possible safeguard should be called into requisition to save them from such a fate—a condition that not only destroys them as social factors, but also renders them unfit to procreate the species.

The second objection is equally fallacious. Under the present law, where the age is fixed at sixteen years, we have no record of any such

blackmailing schemes as was predicted if the age was placed at eighteen years. Yet it is a well-known fact that many girls are as intelligent and shrewd and well-developed physically at sixteen as at eighteen. It was predicted that if the age were raised from twelve to sixteen, all these same dire consequences would follow, and that the male youths of the state would fall an easy prey to these wanton girls, and would be blackmailed into all sorts of conditions. But these predictions have come to naught. There is nothing in the plea to deter the legislature from doing its whole duty to protect the weak and defenceless girls from the grasp of the lecherous villains who lie in wait to destroy them. But admitting that some bad girls should attempt this, no law can possibly be enacted that some might not evade or use it for base purposes. The good would so immeasurably outnumber the possible, or probable, bad results, that the objection, like all others so far interposed, falls to the ground.

While the friends of the measure, in and out of the legislature, deeply regret that it failed, yet they propose to renew the contest upon the meeting of the next general assembly, and no effort will be relaxed until complete victory is won, and the age of consent raised to that age when a girl reaches her legal majority, and when she can contract honorable marriage upon her own responsibility, and can sell and transfer property or make a will. Her honor and purity are of far more value to her, to the community, and to the state than any paltry considerations of property rights. Common humanity shudders to even contemplate or think of the thousands of helpless victims that go to fill up the brothels in the United States, and of the consequent suffering endured, and a horrible death as a finale. To the charge that it is an attempt to legislate morals in the young, it is a sufficient answer that it is an act of justice and right, and is a moral question only in so far as justice and right are moral questions. It is protecting the weak and helpless; the strong and powerful can help themselves. Shall we enact laws to protect animals from cruelty, and not do so for the protection of our own kind?

Viewed from every standpoint—of morals, of justice, of protection of the weak from the clutches of the strong, or as an economic measure affecting the future welfare of the population of the state to save them from pollution and hereditary diseases, or of protecting girls from the dangers and errors of their own immature judgment—the necessity for additional legislation becomes more apparent. The penalty for rape, where violence is used, is death. And when the age of consent is raised to the age of legal majority, when a girl can transfer property and contract honorable marriage without the consent of her parents or guardian, our laws will probably be as near perfect upon this subject as human wisdom can devise.

There was no active opposition to the passage of the bill in the senate, and consequently little opportunity offered for discussion, but in both houses the gentlemen referred to in this article did their whole duty, and deeply regretted their inability to secure the enactment of this much needed legislation.

#### THE AGE OF CONSENT—IS IT A PURELY MORAL QUESTION?

BY G. W. GRANBERRY, M. D., OF ARKANSAS.

Not satisfied with the arguments that have usually and ordinarily been advanced to defeat and deter legislation, fixing the age of consent at the time when girls reach their legal majority, its opponents now come forward and claim that it is a purely moral question, and that you

cannot legislate morals into the youth of the country. It is a specious plea, and is only designed to befog and becloud the main issue and bewilder the honest seeker after truth. There is hardly a solitary law upon our statute book but what has a moral sentiment imbedded in it. The statute against theft is one that might be adduced to illustrate this point. In one sense this is a moral question, and is found in the decalogue. So are many other principles found in our jurisprudence. When we consider that in their broader sense justice and right are usually considered by the great mass of the people as moral principles or questions, the fallacy of the objection becomes apparent. Applied universally, a great purgation of our statute books would become necessary. It is in fact only a moral question collaterally.

It is universally recognized as the duty of the state not only to protect the lives of its citizens, but also to protect their homes from pollution, for this is the source from which our future supplies of population must come. It then becomes a question of vast importance to the state. What these objectors really mean, though they do not probably say so openly, is that it is a religious question, or a sectarian religious question. The ordinary everyday definition of morals refers "to practice or manners in reference to right and wrong; virtuous; just;" or again, to the "practice of the duties of life." These are questions that necessarily come within the domain of the duties of the state, albeit they are moral questions. It is the duty of the state to check wrong and encourage right. Even among the ancients this principle was recognized and acted upon. It was said of Solon, the great Athenian law-giver, that "he considered men as men; and keeping both their capacity for virtue and their proneness to evil in his view, he adapted his laws so as to strengthen and support the one and to check and keep under the other."

An orderly regulation of the sexual relation, especially when it affects the whole body politic, is a matter to be effected by legislative action. The corruption of the female youth of the country, while in law they are *infants*, even if it is a moral question as relates to society and the duties of life, demands recognition at the hands of our lawmakers. While it may not be possible to stamp out all pollution in this respect by legal enactment, legislation will largely curtail it, and will place the ban of the state upon such practices, which in itself will help create a healthy public sentiment in that direction.

Common observation shows that the great majority of girls who are enticed and lured to a life of shame are *minors*. They have not reached that age when they would be capable of forming a sound judgment of the awful consequences of such a life. Of course, when they reach majority, they must take the responsibility of their own acts. That this is a moral question in its general sense, as it affects the well-being of society and the good of the state, does not prohibit the interference of the state. Our constitution separates church and state, and guarantees every person the right to worship God according to his own conception of his obligations to Deity. But regulating the age of consent does not come within this prohibition. The state has no right to interfere in a question of *pure morals*, when it only relates to the individual and his God, and does not affect the rights and privileges of others, as individuals or members of communities. But when anything tends to sap the very mainsprings of the body politic and the orderly regulation of society, state interference not only is permissible, but becomes an absolute duty. Self-preservation, which is above all law, renders it obligatory upon the state to keep the fountains of its life free from pollution. When the numbers that need this salutary protection are considered — and the number is increasing yearly — the great necessity of proper action becomes more evident.

## TEXAS.

This completes the states which have, or claim to have, placed the age at sixteen years. Below this is a range that seems hardly credible, but when it is known that Texas had one of the hardest struggles during the past session ever had on any subject, and yet failed to place the age higher than fifteen years (a gain of three years), and that in Minnesota the struggle was similar, with a result of total failure, leaving the age in that state fourteen, it proves anew that eternal vigilance and sincere and united effort are essential if the people of a state do not wish henceforth to be "represented" by men who believe with Representative A. C. Tompkins, of Kentucky, that girls know more upon these subjects at twelve than they do at twenty, and that they know enough at twelve to enable them to properly weigh and measure the most important and profound questions of human life, and to form judgments for which they should be held as responsible as are men of fifty, while at the same time these same girls are held by law on all other subjects to be infants and in need of guardians to protect their interests and the interests of the state as their legal representative. The reports from Texas are so voluminous, and the speeches of some of the opponents so startling, that they cannot be here reported. The portraits of the leaders are also crowded out, but a fine-looking set of men they are, and it is hoped that next session their complete success in Texas may place that great state and the champions of her daughters on a full equality with their neighbors in the West and with New York. Meantime, I regret to say that the arguments of some of the legislators of Texas were on so low and vile a plane that one can have only pity for the women who are of their families and something akin to contempt for the constituents who send such men to represent them.

## REVIEW OF THE AGE-OF-CONSENT LEGISLATION IN TEXAS.

The first effort of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Texas to have the age of consent raised was in 1891, when Mrs. Mary M. Clardy was sent by the Fort Worth Union to lobby for it. An heroic effort was made then to get the age raised to sixteen, but it resulted only in raising the age from ten to twelve years. Other legislation so occupied our organization in 1893, that this was crowded out; but in our state convention of June, 1894, we decided to try once more to have "the foul blot removed from the escutcheon of Texas." In October, 1894, E. L. Dabbs, M. D., President of the "Texas Woman's Council," in her address made a similar call; and much was done in sentiment-making and petition-gathering by the various woman's societies in the state as a consequence.

I went to Austin at the opening of the session, and three days thereafter Senator Harrison introduced a bill amending the definition of rape so as to read eighteen instead of twelve years. This gentleman is a minister of the Christian or Disciple Church, and was elected to



the senate by the Populists. The bill, however, was not regarded as in any sense a party measure, but was advocated by men of all parties. The senate judiciary committee No. 2 promptly reported the bill reducing the age to fourteen, "provided the defendant may show that the party on whom the offence is charged to have been committed is a female of bad character for chastity."

I had not intended to address the committee, but that report, especially the proviso, changed my mind. The bill was recommitted, and I went before the committee. After my address there was a lively discussion, all participants being senators save one, the pastor of the local Christian Church. This discussion developed the fact that bitter opposition was to be encountered. One thing surprised the women who were present, the gray-haired men opposed the higher age, the younger men championed it. There were exceptions, of course. The committee changed the proviso and reported back a substitute bill with the age still fourteen.

During the interval between the hearing before the committee and the day set for the discussion in the senate, the whole state was thrown into great excitement. Mass meetings were held, petitions gathered, personal letters written to senators and members of the house. No bill before the twenty-fourth legislature called forth so great recognition. No community was so isolated as to be untouched by the wave of feeling. The papers opened their columns for free discussion of the subject, and many sent out strongest argument from the editorial page. The *Statesman*, the great daily of the capital, led the secular press. Col. Joel H. B. Miller, the senior editor, gave a large share of his editorials to this bill, advocating eighteen years. The *Christian Courier* of Dallas, edited by Ex-Senator Homan, led the religious press. He spoke as a statesman, a lawyer, a Christian. The *Iconoclast* of Waco, edited by W. C. Brann, turned his battering-rams against the opposition, asking, "Why is it that they deliberately disregard public opinion and turn a deaf ear to the pleading of ten thousand mothers if they have not formed 'a league with death and a covenant with hell'?" His editorials were largely quoted by other state papers. The ARENA symposium was reproduced entire in the *Texas Christian Advocate* of Dallas, with favorable comments. Many other state papers did the same. So many personal letters were written to the members, that one old bachelor of the legislature is reported to have said he would vote for anything if only the women of his district would let him alone.

The day on which the bill was set for special order, an arctic blizzard was howling over the state. The senators had invited the women to be present, and notwithstanding the fearful cold, over fifty of the best women of Austin were there. We were furnished comfortable seats in the lobby, and every attention of kindness and respect was shown us. A change in the prevailing sentiment, or it may be a change in the class of lawmakers, was evident since women were invited to hear the discussion. Four years ago it was considered a really disgraceful thing that a blessed white-haired mother should have heard the discussion. At the recent session one lawmaker remarked, "If there is a woman in Texas who would not be present at such a discussion, I never want to meet her, for I want always to respect women."

Senator Goss introduced an amendment to reduce the age from fourteen to thirteen, and spoke to it. The burden of his song was, "Protect the boys." Senator Bowser, of Dallas, introduced the amendment to raise the age to eighteen, also the one to seventeen, and spoke strongly in defence. Senator Beall, from Waxahachie, the young man of the senate, introduced the amendment for sixteen years. He favored eighteen. The compromise had to be made fifteen in order to pass.

The small minority who were for twelve or thirteen filibustered for one whole session and part of two other sessions. The bill had no stronger friend than Senator Sherrill, of Greenville, who also made the speech against the proviso that killed it. Once the vote was a tie. Lieutenant Governor Jester, with a beaming face, voted "aye" and saved the bill.

The senate bill was passed by the house without discussion. It was called up by an eloquent young lawyer of Waco, Cullen F. Thomas, age 25. Evans of Hunt, Gough of Collin, both lawyers, and T. T. D. Andrews, a stockman from Fort Worth, were the most active friends in the house. However, while these were most active, I believe it but just to say the Texas house would have passed the original bill. The house is composed mostly of younger men, and their progressive ideas along this line of legislation argue well for a higher civilization for the future.\*

The arguments against raising the age higher than thirteen or fourteen, were: 1. Girls often mature physically at twelve or fourteen years of age. Mexican girls were often mothers at twelve; being developed, the girl could consent. 2. Working girls, especially typewriters, would blackmail their employers, "urged on by designing mothers." (Bailey.) 3. We have a degraded race among us — negro. 4. It will send youths to the gallows, and fill our penitentiaries with immature boys.† 5. Southern chivalry was a sufficient protection to womanhood. 6. Seduction laws cover the case. (N. B. — Marriages between the white and negro races are unlawful in this state.)

All these arguments were met and refuted by Senators Bowser, Harrison, and Sherrill. The opposition was profuse in tributes to good women, defining both their "mission" and their "sphere." "The women are no doubt good-hearted, but had allowed their sentiment to run away with their judgment." They greatly admired "female virtue." The women listened attentively, but not one word did we hear for "male virtue."

A bill was introduced in the house making carnal knowledge with a female over twelve a misdemeanor with fine of \$25 to \$1,000. (*For stealing a yearling worth \$4.00, in Texas, the party is sent to the penitentiary for at least two years.*) Committee sent in majority and minority reports, the minority signed by several prominent young lawyers, Thomas and Evans of the number. The house adjourned without any action on the bill, which was certainly greatly to its credit. The man introducing this bill is a criminal lawyer, a worker in a Sunday school, and father of a family of small children, all girls.

The bill, as now become the law, so modifies the definition of rape as to make it apply to girls until they are fifteen years old. No proviso of any kind. A perfect law as far as it goes. The age will be higher before the question is settled.

Senator Harrison (who introduced the bill in senate) is an educated physician. After twenty years of active practice it was an easy transition for him to become a minister. His political preferment was unsought.

Almost simultaneously, but without consultation, although politically of the same party, a similar bill was introduced in the house by Representative Cureton. The age (eighteen) was reduced to fourteen by the committee, although a brave minority report favoring sixteen years was brought in by Representatives Gough (chairman), Evans of

\* This has been so marked in almost every state as to astonish even those who knew the fact before.

† That the fourth and fifth arguments are self-contradictory did not appear to interfere with the vehemence with which both were urged. Then, too, if the fifth is true, why hesitate to so state in the form of law?

H. H. G.

Hunt, and Thomas. By this strong, true stand these young statesmen became quickly recognized by the press and people all over the state. Nor can it be forgotten.

HELEN M. STODDARD, Dallas, Texas,  
*State President, Texas W. C. T. U.*

TEXAS SENATE, 1895.

Senators who wanted the age eighteen: Lieutenant-Governor Jester, President of Senate, Beall, Bowser, Crowley, Darwin, Gage, Harrison, McComb, Presler, Rogers, Sherrill, Smith, Stafford.

Those who would not go higher than fifteen or sixteen: Atlee (16), Boren, Colquitt, Dickson (16), Dean, Lawhon (16), McKinney (16), Steele, Woods.

Senators voting for not higher than thirteen or fourteen: Agnew, Bailey, Dibrell, Greer, Goss, Lewis, Simpson, Shelburne, Tips, Whitaker.

Had it been possible to have all the friends of a sixteen-year amendment present at a vote, it would have carried with a majority of one, but these were never all present at the same time. Two or three on the Black List, after they saw the bill was going to pass at fifteen years anyway, voted for it; but that doesn't count.

DELAWARE.

The next state which claims to have placed the age at fifteen is Delaware. But in my opinion, and that of several able lawyers who have been consulted, the real age of consent in Delaware is still seven. In other words, the law of Delaware so defines rape that a man would not be convicted of this crime unless violence is used if the child is above the age of seven, but might, under another section of the law, be convicted of a "*misdemeanor* and fined *not more than \$1,000, or imprisoned for not more than seven years, or both at the discretion of the court,*" if the girl is under fifteen. But this latter relates to a finable misdemeanor, and does not, after the child is seven years old, touch the basic question as embodied in the laws of other states. If the child is more than seven years and one day, the punishment may be not more than ten cents. This is the very point of contention.

The matter came up, and bills to make the age-of-consent and rape laws more in harmony with those of other states were presented, but were defeated during the last session. It is but just to say that the penalty in Delaware for rape is death. The arguments of an able Delaware lawyer sent here to prove that the definition of rape is the same in all states, and that if "consent" is given the offence cannot be that crime, are crowded out here, but the bills already printed from other states disprove the argument, for in cases of idiots, insane, and a number of other classes, and of girls under sixteen or eighteen years of age, it is

held now to be rape in more than half of the states of this Union and in several other countries. On this subject Hon. Henry B. Blackwell recently wrote: "Delaware is still wrestling with the problem of the age of protection. The law has been so far amended that it is now a misdemeanor for an adult of either sex to corrupt a minor under eighteen.\* To corrupt a girl under seven years old is a felony. But if the child is one day over seven years old, her alleged 'consent' still reduces the offence from a felony to a misdemeanor, the penalty for which is comparatively slight."

The bills in Delaware were reported to have passed, and it was so telegraphed all over the country. Many were the letters of thanksgiving sent here, saying, "Now we are no longer at the foot of the list"; "Take Delaware out of that horrible position"; "It has been our shame and our utter humiliation." But the report was premature, and so far as the crime of rape is concerned, if "consent" is obtained from a child seven years and one day old, it is *not* that of felony, but is a finable misdemeanor. Hence Delaware is still at the foot of the ladder.

Next to her are the two Carolinas, in which the age is ten. No session was held in South Carolina this year. It is but just to say that North Carolina this year made an effort to better her status in this matter.

#### NORTH CAROLINA.

Hon. L. L. Smith, of Gatesville, introduced a bill asking that the word "ten be struck out of the code, and the word fourteen inserted," leaving the death penalty. In judiciary committee it was proposed to change this to twelve years, with death penalty, and make it a finable and prison offence up to eighteen. This was recommended by the judiciary committee, but it met with such fierce opposition on the floor of the house that as a matter of prudence, to prevent the defeat of the bill, he offered a substitute for the report of the committee, the effect of which was to leave the law as it was for rape in the first degree, the penalty for which was death, and to punish "by fine and imprisonment in the penitentiary every person convicted of carnally knowing and abusing any female of ten years and under the age of fourteen years." This passed the house in that shape, after a full discussion, by a good majority, on the second reading. On the third reading, however, the opposition made a harder fight than on the second, and got in two amendments—one to substitute "or" for "and" between "fine" and "imprisonment," and another providing that "any female of ten years and under the age of fourteen years" must be a virgin in order that any person could be convicted of carnally knowing and abusing her. It thus passed its third reading in the house. When it went to the senate, it was referred to the judiciary committee, and to Mr. Smith's surprise was there amended by a proviso that no male under the age of eighteen years could be convicted under that act. But before the report of the committee was made, by the help of a friend in the senate, Mr. Smith

\* Fifteen.

had it re-referred to the committee, and he himself went before them and induced them to reconsider their former action. They would not, however, strike out the whole proviso, but finally reduced the age for the protection of boys under the act from eighteen to sixteen years. The house would not have acceded to that amendment but for the fact that it was so late in the session there was not then time to consider it.

Fancy stopping to discuss whether a child ten and one-half years old is a virgin or has outlawed herself by having once before met a male brute! Fancy also protecting boys under sixteen and girls of fourteen! Is this "Southern chivalry"?

Next come West Virginia, Virginia, Kentucky, and Louisiana, all of which place the age of protection at twelve years, and only one of which had a session this year. It is explained that the South has, in this matter, retained the old common law in most cases, and that this accounts (in spite of her chivalry) for the fact that as a section she stands far behind any other in her legal protection to her daughters. Most of these states held no session this year. It remains to be seen whether they will retrieve themselves at their next session. It is also fair to say that in most of the Southern states the penalty for rape is death, and that no age is named at which a boy is shielded from the full penalty, although the common-law presumption of fourteen holds. All such features will necessarily be matters for mature consideration in framing the next law. In most of the Northern and Western states the matter was somewhat less complex. But having been famous for skilful statesmanship, there is little fear but that, when undertaken in earnest, these Southern states will redeem themselves in this matter.

### WEST VIRGINIA.

#### REPORT.

No bill was introduced at the last session of the legislature on the subject named. Age of consent in West Virginia is twelve years. (Code of 1891, Chap. 144, Sec. 16; Acts of 1882, Chap. 118.) Penalty for rape: If jury return a verdict of guilty, that the accused be confined in the penitentiary; he shall be confined therein not less than seven nor more than twenty years. (Code 1891, Chap. 144, Sec. 15; Acts 1882, Chap. 118). The age of majority is twenty-one years for both male and female.

Very truly yours,

WM. M. O. DAWSON,

*Clerk of the House and Keeper of the Rolls.*

### WISCONSIN.

Wisconsin made a gain of two years, and now stands at fourteen. The crime is rape, and the penalty "imprisonment in the state prison not less than five or more than thirty-five years."

The bill in Wisconsin was introduced by Hon. H. P. Burdick, first fixing the age at fifteen. It was formerly twelve. Afterwards he amended it by making the age sixteen, and in that form it passed the assembly without a dissenting vote. When it reached the senate it was referred to the judiciary committee, and there cropped out some opposition, principally Senator Bashford, Democrat, and Senator Spenceley, Republican. Mr. Burdick went before this committee and argued for the bill as it had passed the house, but, realizing that it was in jeopardy, he said to the committee that he would consent to making it fifteen, but would fight anything lower. It was reported by this committee with amendment fixing it at fourteen, and passed the senate in that form. When it again reached the assembly, Mr. Burdick had been made speaker, owing to the sickness of Speaker Burrows, and not wishing to leave the chair to speak in its favor, he simply requested the friends of the bill to refuse to concur in the senate amendment, and the assembly did so refuse. This resulted in a conference committee, which the speaker appointed from the assembly. The committee from the senate was firm in the position taken by the senate, and refused to recede from the amendment, and finally, rather than to get nothing, Mr. Burdick advised the assembly committee to consent, and the bill became a law, fixing the age at fourteen. The principal workers in the assembly for the bill were Hon. Messrs. A. R. Hall, W. A. Jones, and D. O. Mahoney. However, it is only fair to say that there was no opposition to the bill at sixteen in the assembly. The opposition was in the senate, which body stood for a low age.\*

After the introduction of this bill, another bill was introduced by Hon. Frank L. Fraser, of Lake Beulah, Walworth Co., fixing the age at eighteen, but the bill was not pressed, and died in committee. The age of majority in this state is twenty-one, but girls may contract marriage at eighteen. The penalty for rape by force is not less than ten years imprisonment nor more than thirty; for carnal knowledge of a child under the age of consent, not less than five years nor more than thirty-five. There were no members of the senate prominent in their opposition to the Burdick bill, but by quiet work the age was reduced, as has been explained. The only argument offered by any member was that if fixed at an age higher than fourteen, convictions were hard to get in case of violation, as juries were loath to punish a man severely for carnal knowledge of a girl more than fourteen where it appeared that she was a willing party to her own debauchery. There is nothing in the argument, and it is unworthy of respectable men.

### OTHER STATES.

Finally, we have twelve other states in which the age is still fourteen years. In a few of these, for example Alabama, which this year put in two bills asking for eighteen, but succeeded in getting fourteen only (it had been ten), the wording of the law has not yet reached us, so that it is impossible to say whether it is or is not a perfect law.

Next is California, of which I have written that after the bill passed making the age sixteen, the governor vetoed it, and it therefore is now only fourteen.

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\* Note this fact, and what it implies in most states.



Ohio and Georgia,\* in which the age is fourteen, had no session this year, and if Maine, Maryland, Nevada, and Vermont (same age) had, they have not yet reported. Indiana and Minnesota this year each put in bills asking that the age be raised from fourteen to eighteen, but in each case failed of any action whatever. Long, ably-written, and interesting reports have come from both of these states, but since they made no advance it has been deemed best to defer these reports until the history of the future legislation in these states shall demand and deserve the space.

One of the finest arguments yet made anywhere was written us by Representative Stakebake, of Indiana, who introduced a bill, as did also Rev. J. M. Fowler, whose report we regret not being able to use here. Two fine reports from Minnesota, one by a talented young lawyer, Mr. Harry Wellington Wack, and one by Mrs. Josie L. Fowler-Tabour also came, and are omitted for the reasons given above.

In closing the report of this legislation for 1895 we feel like congratulating the country upon the fact that so much more than we hoped for has been accomplished by concerted action; and we believe that the impetus is now such that the people of no state will rest until this blot is removed from their statute books, and until their youth is protected in its present and its future chances for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness upon the same basis of age and maturity of judgment and responsibility as is applied to the property and other material interests of the infant wards of the state and nation. The accompanying map and revised black list is a great advance in one year. I trust that next session may not leave New York so conspicuously alone in the East, and that no state will rest content to have it said that her lawmakers wish, and her men are willing, to take legal advantage of the girl children whose guardians and protectors they claim they are and should be.

H. H. G.

#### CODIFICATION IN BRIEF.

In a number of these states it says "any male person over sixteen years old, or eighteen, etc., shall" etc. In other states no age is named for the male offender except the presumption of the common law, which places it at fourteen.

DELAWARE. 7. Rape. Death. 15, misdemeanor, "*fined not more than \$1,000 or prison not more than 7 years or both, at the discretion of the court.*"

NORTH CAROLINA. 10. Rape. Death. 14, "crime punished by

\* The Georgia law makes the age fourteen *unless* "by reason of her intelligence she knows good from evil" at an earlier date. This might place the age at five or seven if a jury so pleased.

fine or imprisonment at the discretion of the court, *provided* she has never previously had sexual intercourse with any male person."

SOUTH CAROLINA. 10. Death, common law.

ALABAMA. 10. "Death or imprisonment in the penitentiary for life." (Could get no information from secretary of state.)

MISSISSIPPI. "Under 10 years of age, or being over 10 *against her will*." Death, unless the jury shall fix the penalty at imprisonment in the penitentiary for life, as it may do in case of murder. Mississippi has an abduction law which, having been confused with the consent law, has formerly caused the age in Mississippi to be given as 16. Secretary of state sent this, but so far as we can learn the statute leaving the age when she can consent as 10 years is still in force in this state.

FLORIDA. 10 years is rape—death or life imprisonment; 16 years, "shall be punished by imprisonment not *exceeding twelve months* or by fine not *exceeding \$500*."

VIRGINIA. 12 years for girl, 14 for boy. Death or prison not more than 20 nor less than 10 years.

WEST VIRGINIA. 12. Death or imprisonment not less than 7 nor more than twenty years, at the discretion of the jury.

INDIAN TERRITORY. 12. Under Cherokee law. Death or imprisonment for life.

KENTUCKY. 12. "Death or imprisonment for life at the discretion of the court."

TENNESSEE. 12 years, death or prison *not less than 10 years*; 16 years, prison 3 years *if* of previous good character, etc.

LOUISIANA. 12. Statute of 1880 gives 12 years. *Penalty, death.* (Could get no information from secretary of state.)

NEVADA. 12. Statute of 1885, "with or without consent; penalty not less than 5 years, may be for life." (Could get nothing from secretary of state.)

NEW HAMPSHIRE. 13 for girls, 14 for boys. "He shall be imprisoned not exceeding 30 years."

IOWA. 12. Imprisonment for life or *any term* of years.

UTAH. 13. Rape. "Imprisonment in the penitentiary not exceeding 5 years."

GEORGIA. 14, or *any younger age* if jury finds she "knows the difference between good and evil."

MAINE. 14. Imprisonment for life or *any term* of years.

VERMONT. 14. Prison not *more than 20 years* or fined not *more than \$2,000* or both.

MARYLAND. 14. "Death, or penitentiary for life or not less than 18 months nor more than 21 years." Report of 1892. (Could get no reply from secretary of state.)

OHIO. 14. Rape if boy is over 18. Not more than 20 nor less than 3 years.

INDIANA. 14. Imprisonment in state prison not more than 21 years and not less than one year.

ILLINOIS. 14. "Either with or without her consent." Imprisonment not less than one year, and may be extended to life.

WISCONSIN. 14. Imprisonment not less than 5 nor more than 35 years. Gain in 1895 of 2 years.

NEW MEXICO. 14. Imprisonment not less than 5 nor more than 35 years. Gain in 1895 of 2 years.

CALIFORNIA. 14. "State prison not less than 5 years." Act March, 1889. (Received no reply from governor or secretary of state when asked for wording of bill and penalty.)

TEXAS. 15. Penalty not yet reported. Gain in 1895 of 3 years.

MASSACHUSETTS. 16. Imprisonment for life or any term of years.

RHODE ISLAND. 16. "Imprisonment *not exceeding* 15 years." Report of 1894. (Could get no information from secretary of state.)

CONNECTICUT. 16. Rape. "State prison not less than 3 years." Gain of 2 years in 1895.

NEW JERSEY. 16. "Misdemeanor," fine *not exceeding* \$1,000 or imprisonment at hard labor *not exceeding* 15 years or both.

MICHIGAN. 16. "Imprisonment, state prison for life or any term of years."

MINNESOTA. 16. "Under 10, in state prison for life; 14 years, state prison not less than 7 nor more than 30 years; 16 years, state prison not less than one nor more than 7 years, or county jail not less than 3 months nor more than one year."

NORTH DAKOTA. 16. If girl is under 10 years it is rape in first degree, all other cases it is second degree. Punishment, prison not less than 5 years. Gain of 2 years 1895.

SOUTH DAKOTA. 16. If in the first degree, imprisonment not less than 10 years. (See North Dakota.)

MONTANA. 16. "State prison not less than 5 years or for life." Gain of 2 years in 1895.

WASHINGTON. 12. Imprisonment for life or any term of years. Report of Senator Coon. Washington. 16. Report of Secretary of state, imprisonment for life or any term of years.

PENNSYLVANIA. 16-10. Boy over 16. Fine and imprisonment *not exceeding* \$1,000 and *not exceeding* 15 years, "if the woman child was of good repute"; if the child is under 10 years no such proof required.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. 16. "Under the age of 16" imprisonment, including accessories, at hard labor for first offence not more than 15 years, and each subsequent offence not more than 30 years. Feb. 9, 1889. Wherever the United States has exclusive jurisdiction, which naturally includes Alaska and all vessels, national parks, etc.

OREGON. 16. Boy over 16. "Imprisonment not less than 3 nor more than 20 years." Gain 2 years 1895.

ARKANSAS. 16. "Shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary not less than 5 nor more than 20 years."

NEW YORK. 18. "Imprisonment not more than 20 years." Gain of 2 years in 1895.

KANSAS. 18. Prison at hard labor not less than 5 nor more than 21 years.

COLORADO. 18. Prison not less than one nor more than 20 years. Gain of 2 years in 1895.

ARIZONA. 18. Imprisonment for life or any term not less than 5 years. Gain of 4 years 1895.

WYOMING. 18. Rape. "Shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary not less than one year or during life."

IDAHO. 18. Rape. Prison not less than 5 years, and imprisonment may be extended for life. Gain of 4 years in 1895.

NEBRASKA. 18. "Unless previously unchaste" after 15. Boy to be over 18. Prison not less than 3 nor more than 20 years. Gain of 4 years 1895.

MISSOURI. 18. Boy over 16. Felony, imprisonment 2 years or fine not less than \$100 nor more than \$500, or imprisonment in county jail not less than one month nor more than six months, or both. Gain of 4 years 1895.

## REVISED BLACK LIST FOR 1895.

Below we give the black list of states, showing the limit at which fathers, brothers, and husbands have placed the age at which a *little girl* may consent to her ruin.

### SEVEN YEARS.

\* Delaware.

\* Delaware has other stringent laws up to 15, but her rape law "with consent" holds to 7 only.

### TEN YEARS.

North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, \*Mississippi, \*Florida.

\*Abduction and finable offences up to 16, but rape law "with consent" ends at 10.

### TWELVE YEARS.

Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Indian Territory, Nevada.

### THIRTEEN YEARS.

New Hampshire, Iowa, Utah.

### FOURTEEN YEARS.

\*Georgia, Maine, Vermont, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, New Mexico, California.

\*The wording of the Georgia law may permit a jury to place the age at 5 or any other age up to 14.

### FIFTEEN YEARS.

Texas.

### SIXTEEN YEARS.

Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, \*New Jersey, Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Washington, Oregon, Arkansas, †Pennsylvania, ‡District of Columbia.

\*It is merely a finable misdemeanor in New Jersey, which should rule this state out of the 16 list.

†Must prove previous good character after 10 years, which does not place Pennsylvania justly with the 16 list.

‡District of Columbia has a very stringent law which is superior in its provisions to that of most of the states. This covers the National Park, all vessels under United States control, etc.

## OUT OF THE BLACK LIST.

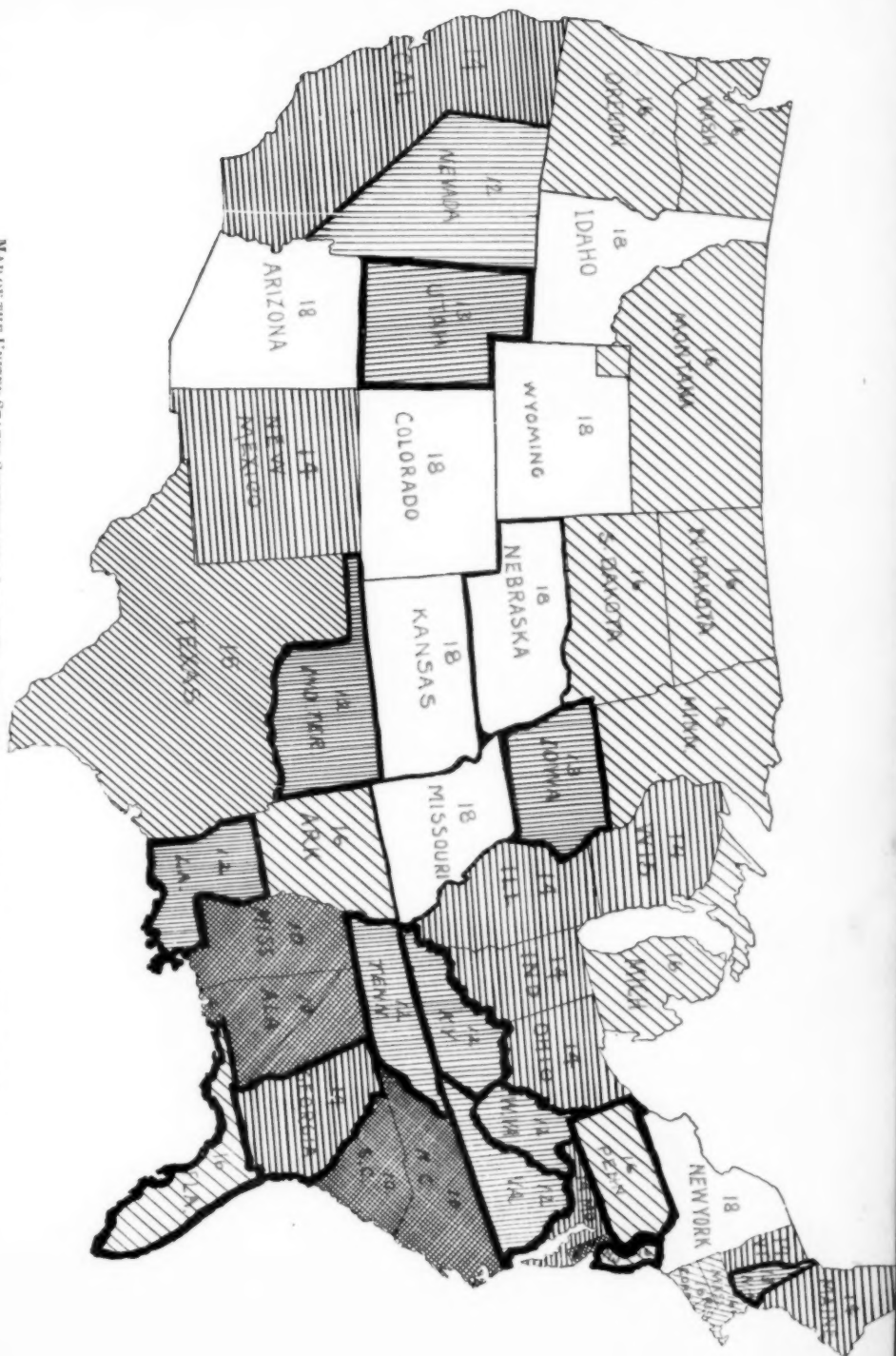
### EIGHTEEN YEARS.

NEW YORK, KANSAS, COLORADO, ARIZONA, WYOMING, IDAHO,

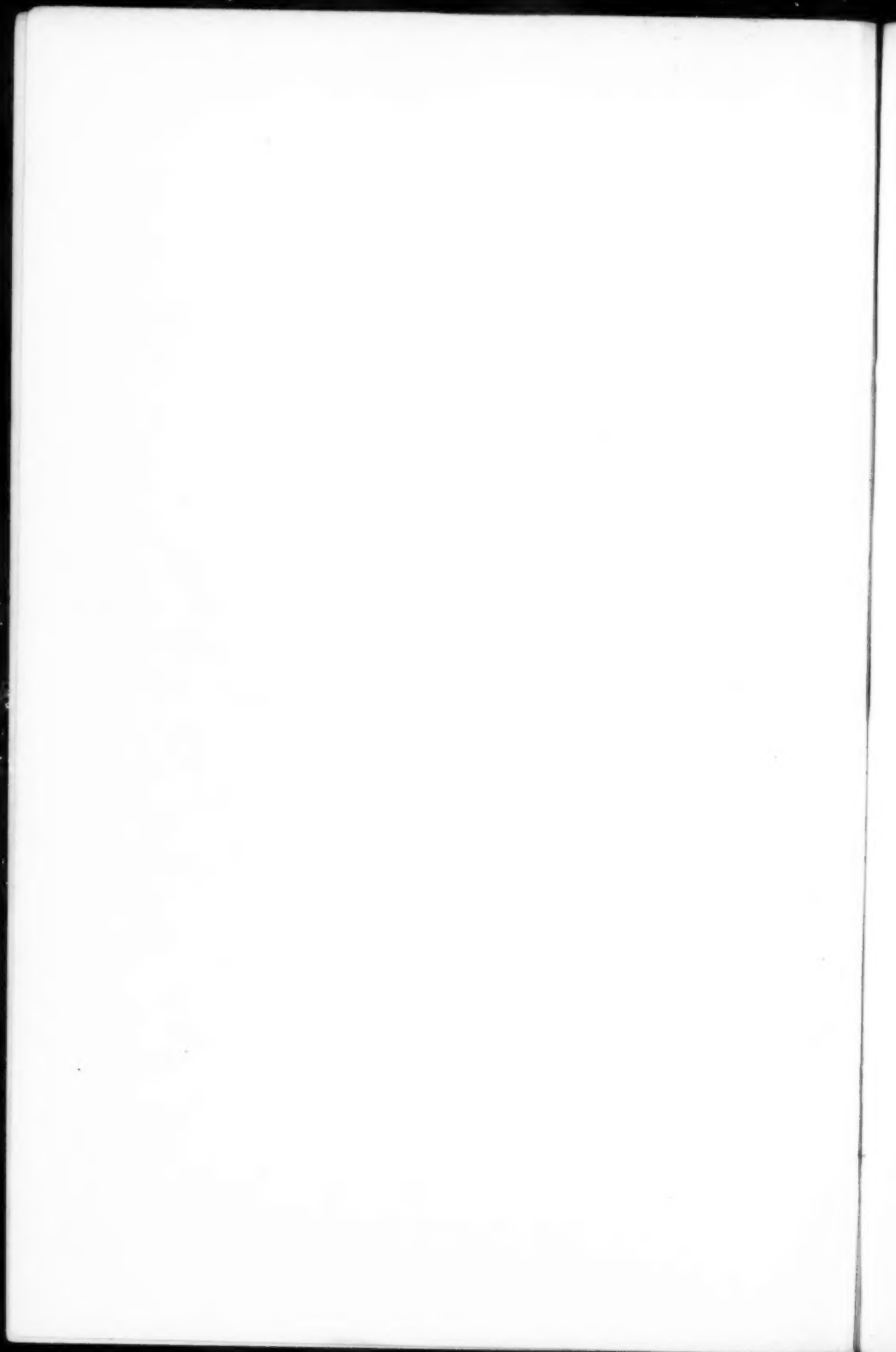
\*NEBRASKA, †MISSOURI.

\*The requirements in the Nebraska statute make it almost worthless after 15.

†The requirements and penalties in Missouri are the most defective of all, and will prove practically worthless in operation.



MAP OF THE UNITED STATES SHOWING THE AGE OF CONSENT IN OCTOBER, 1885. SEE COMPIL'D LAWS, PP. 41-418.





## THE IMPENDING POLITICAL ADVANCE.

BY HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY.

*Hon. J. M. Ashley,*

DEAR SIR: Owing to your intimate knowledge of our political anti-slavery history during the past quarter of a century, and your special qualifications for discussing vital problems which are of paramount importance at the present time, I take the liberty of requesting your views on the following questions:

*First.* Can the frauds by which two, if not three, of the Presidents of the United States are said to have been elected, be prevented without effecting a change in the Constitution?

*Second.* Can a majority of the legal voters in the States having a majority of the *Presidential electors*, by concurrent action *prevent or avoid* the election of a Vice-President, and thereby relieve the country of an "heir-apparent" to the Presidency?

*Third.* Without a change in the Constitution, can the voters of the several states, in their choice of Congressmen, and also in that for electors of President and Vice-President, avail themselves of any practical system of proportional representation?

Respectfully yours,

B. O. FLOWER.

### REPLY BY MR. ASHLEY.

To each of your questions I give an affirmative answer. But it would require not less than three magazine articles of maximum length to answer your request satisfactorily to myself.

I hold that with an intelligent use of the ballot there is, under our present Constitution, no insurmountable obstacle to the accomplishment of any legitimate purpose of representative government which may voluntarily be resolved upon by a majority of the citizens of the United States, *provided each elector has secured to him an equality of political power, a direct vote and a fair count.*

But obviously enough, the election of a President and the dispensing with the officer known as Vice-President, and "heir apparent," by the plan I shall propose in this paper, without change of Constitution and laws, can be accomplished in a manner more satisfactory to all by an amendment which shall abolish the office of Vice-President absolutely, and guarantee to the citizens of the several States the right to vote by ballot direct for the nomination and for the election of a President, without the intervention of party caucuses and conventions (State or national), or the

use of presidential electors, or an election by the House of Representatives.

As I see it, the electoral machinery by which our Presidents are now chosen is the stumbling-block in our national political highway. It is our political rock of offense, and our safety and peace demands that it be removed. If not removed it will some day produce revolution and civil war. Had Samuel J. Tilden been an Andrew Jackson, we should have had in 1877 a struggle the result of which no man can even now forecast.

The stormy outlook in our political sky for 1896 indicates that the frauds and factional divisions which in 1844 and since have been successful at two, if not three presidential elections, may again be repeated, unless timely precaution and energetic action are taken to defeat them.

Experience, however, has taught us how difficult it is to induce the American people to move out of the familiar political paths in which they have been accustomed for years to march. And I am not unmindful of the fact that there is to-day a hesitating timidity and an unreasoning prejudice against any amendment, however necessary and just, which may be proposed to our national Constitution. Especially is this the case when the amendment promises to secure greater power to the people, and reduce the number of political bosses.

John Stuart Mill once said that a proposition might be so just that all parties would reject it.

The reason for this hesitating timidity on the part of our people about amending the Constitution is not hard to find.

Immediately after the adoption of the Constitution by the convention which framed it, and its ratification by the requisite number of States to make it binding, the pro-slavery interests throughout the country (which from that date acted aggressively and as a unit) joined the members of the convention who, by crafty intrigue and conduct bordering on treason to the young republic, had forced Franklin and Madison, Hamilton and Randolph and the great men of the convention to yield to a reckless and unscrupulous minority of less than one-third of that body, and engraft in the Constitution provisions to make perpetual an inequality of political power which for more than three-quarters of a century was a menace to our unity and peace. From the day of that combination to the election of Lincoln, the young republic was practically manacled and powerless in their hands. And the nation is not yet entirely emancipated.

This State sovereignty and slave-holding interest, which in the convention made common cause against the creation of a true representative democratic republic, at once inaugurated a crusade for what they were pleased to proclaim "the best and wisest Constitution ever devised by man." Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, one of the ablest lawyers in the convention, and Washington's Attorney General, in reply to this kind of sophistry and oratory, said that "their chief interest was observable in the extreme solicitude they cherished for the admitted defects of the Constitution." As soon as the champions of State sovereignty and the slave interest had united and seized the Government, and by official acts and rulings in the several departments, with the coöperation of the Supreme and District courts of the United States (nearly all of these judges were selected by the slave barons) had thus interpreted the Constitution in their own behalf, hosannas were at once ordered to be sung everywhere and on all occasions by every chick-a-de-dee and cross-roads statesman, extolling the Constitution as "the perfection of human wisdom." From this time until the election of Lincoln, all candidates for office, State or national, were compelled to keep step to this kind of music, or take back seats and be denounced as "enemies of the Constitution and the perfect Union which it created."

So universal did this blind adoration become, that one Rev. Dr. Dewey, of Boston, in a moment of patriotic self-denial, declared that "if the Constitution required it, he would send his own mother back into slavery." And this reverend individual, of the Uriah Heep type, was but a sample of a whole generation of vipers who, during the war, were clamorous in their demands for peace at any price, whether of manhood or national honor, and on all occasions twisted and wrung their hands while whining out, "Give us the Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was."

All readers who have reached man's estate since the Rebellion will readily comprehend that this wailing and wringing of hands for the "Constitution and Union of our fathers" was but the shallow plea of Northern Uriah Heeps for the continued domination of the slave barons in the government, and for their right to seize and chattelize men everywhere beneath our flag, on the land and on the sea. In no nation, and among no people, so far as I know, has there ever been any political idolatry to be compared with our idolatry of the national Constitution, so long as it was interpreted to affirm the dogma of State sovereignty and State secession, and the right of any State in the Union to

seize and chattelize men. While such an infamous interpretation of that sacred instrument obtained, and the men who professed to believe it were in control of the national Government, no amendment of a character hostile to such interpretation would for a moment have been tolerated.

As an answer to any proposition which might be suggested for an amendment to the Constitution, the slave barons did not hesitate to proclaim that "the Constitution was a divinely inspired instrument and must not be disturbed." They emphasized this preposterous statement by announcing after the manner of St. John that "if any man shall add unto the words written in this Constitution (by way of discussion or interpretation) there shall be added unto him many plagues and many stripes." "And if any man shall take away from the words of this Constitution, there shall be taken away from him his part out of our political book of life, which containeth for the faithful abundant promises of offices, and for promotion in office; but offices and promotions in office can only be secured by him who overcometh the chidings of conscience and is steadfast, enduring submissively and without protest, unto the end."

So boldly and confidently was the dogma of State sovereignty, and the right of any State of the American Union to seize and chattelize men, impressed on the paralyzed conscience of the average citizen, that when the people awoke from their hypnotic condition, and protested in the mildest manner possible, by the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency, it culminated in the War of the Rebellion. As long as the Government was in the hands of the slave barons, they of course would not make war upon it; but the moment they were turned out of office by a vote of the people, they at once discovered that "the matchless Constitution of our fathers" was not the perfect instrument which for three-quarters of a century they had affirmed, and thereupon they conspired and attempted to destroy it.

After the organization of the Confederate government, and after civil war became inevitable unless the United States consented to disunion and dismemberment, the American Congress, by the requisite two-thirds vote, only two days before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, submitted to the several States for their ratification, a constitutional amendment, which, had it been indorsed by the requisite number of States, would have made slavery constitutional everywhere beneath our flag.

When passing through this memorable ordeal my blood was often at fever heat, and I swore then and believe now,

that never before, in the history of any civilized people, was there a more offensive exhibition of human weakness and utter want of manhood than was shown by the men who in the American Congress voted to make slavery constitutional and perpetual, on the 2d day of March, in the year of our Lord 1861.

After more than three years of civil war on part of the Confederates to make slavery the chief corner-stone of their Confederacy, and after Mr. Lincoln had issued his Emancipation Proclamation, pledging the honor of the nation to maintain the freedom of all liberated slaves, the thirteenth amendment, of which I had final charge in the House of Representatives, was, on the 15th day of June, 1864, defeated by a vote of 94 for to 64 against (lacking 28 votes to make two-thirds of a full house with no representatives present from the slave States in rebellion). And it is safe to say that it passed when it did only because of Mr. Lincoln's second election. On the day of its defeat, I entered a motion for the reconsideration of the vote by which the amendment was lost. Under parliamentary rules, I had charge of the measure from that day until its final passage on the 30th of January, 1865. After a long and remarkable parliamentary battle, the final decision was made by the close vote of 119 for to 56 against, being a majority of seven over the necessary two-thirds of a *quorum* required by the Constitution, with eight members absent, all of whom, if present, would probably have felt constrained by party ties to vote against it, and, if so, would have defeated it.

So demoralized was the American conscience and so morally blind in its worship of the great national idol of slavery, that fifty-six representatives in the American Congress went on record that day as voting to endorse the crime of the centuries, and to maintain the Constitution as it was, with its pro-slavery interpretation. To me, this is the blackest political record of the nineteenth century.

What wonder, then, that lesser villainies were repeatedly committed in defiance of all law, and without the possibility of redress, so long as the beneficiaries were entrenched in the national and in a majority of the State governments?

I have not the shadow of a doubt that in my time two men were put in the Presidential office by deliberate and carefully planned frauds on the ballot-box, when selecting electors for President and Vice-President. In this statement I do not include the Hayes and Tilden contest which was determined by the historic electoral commission.

Under our Constitution and laws, there is no way of

reaching and correcting such frauds upon the ballot-box, so long as the beneficiaries are in possession of the National Government, and the State Governments in which the frauds originate. There is no question in my mind, that had a democrat been in the Presidential office instead of General Grant, no "electoral commission" would have been authorized by Congress, and Tilden would have been inaugurated President instead of Hayes.

Notwithstanding the general belief that *two*, if not *three*, successful Presidential frauds have been committed, there has never been on the part of the people any organized movement worthy of the name, to brand such villainy as it deserves, and to devise such an amendment to the national Constitution as would make forever impossible a repetition of the disgraceful frauds on the ballot-box, which have, in the opinion of many, put at least two men in the Presidential office who ought not to have been there.

Since 1841, there have been four Vice-Presidents who each succeeded to the Presidency on the death of the man with whom they were elected. It is well-known that each of these Vice-Presidents betrayed the men who nominated them and the party which elected them, and that three of them, in their desperate intrigues to be elected as their own successors, made an open alliance with the opponents of their own party.

Within the time of which I write, four Vice-Presidents have reached the Presidential office, who could not, by any combination, have been nominated or elected to the Presidency by their party. Could any provision in the Constitution more offensive and diabolical have been devised? And yet, no movement has ever been made strong enough to command public attention, in favor of abolishing the office of Vice-President, and thus relieving the people of one of the most objectionable and dangerous officials provided for in our "matchless Constitution."

But I affirm that the people may abolish the Vice-President as an official, and "heir-apparent," without changing the Constitution. If a majority of the voters residing in States entitled to a majority of the college of electors so resolve, they can, through the machinery of their State and national conventions, instruct their delegates to make no nomination for the office of Vice-President, and require a pledge of each candidate for Presidential elector, to vote a blank ballot for Vice-President; said electors chosen on such a platform would unquestionably obey instructions. A majority of the voters in a sufficient number of the States



could thus prevent any person filling that office. And by instructing the members of the electoral college at each Presidential election to steadily vote a blank ballot for Vice-President, they would, if they constituted a majority of the electoral vote cast, practically abolish that unnecessary and dangerous officer and prospective President, without an amendment of the Constitution.

The members of the College of Presidential Electors for each State, are not national, but State officials. The Legislature of each State may appoint said electors, or it may delegate that power to a commission of its citizens, or it may, as it has now done in all the States, authorize the people to vote for and name the electors in congressional districts or for the State at large. But no matter how they may be selected in any State, it will be conceded that the power which appoints the electors may instruct them for whom to vote, or if they resolve that they should vote for Mr. Blank as Vice-President, it would be their duty to do so.

The total number of the presidential electoral vote that can be cast in 1896 (unless one or more new States are admitted) is 444, of which number 223 are a majority. If the electors duly appointed in the several States by those opposed to the existence of the Vice-Presidential office should, in compliance with the instructions of their constituents, deliberately cast 223 blank ballots for Vice-President, Mr. Blank would beyond all question be the successful candidate; and if he could be found might be captured and inaugurated. Certainly the candidate receiving less than a majority of the total electoral vote could not legally be declared the Vice-President elect. Nor would the Senate in the face of such a protest from the people undertake to select a Vice-President from any one of the minority candidates, if there were two or more candidates voted for against Mr. Blank. The Constitution provides that the Senate can only select that officer in case no choice of a Vice-President is made by the electoral college. Mr. Blank having received a majority of all the electoral votes cast, must be recognized as the legal choice of the electors and the successful candidate. One who reads his country's history would naturally conclude that the experience we have had with three of our Vice-Presidents, John Tyler, Millard Fillmore, and Andrew Jackson, was of a character so offensive as to force the nation to be practically a unit in demanding the immediate abolition of the office of Vice-President. But such we all know is not the case. As a nation, we have not outgrown the blind idolatry for the Constitution which,

for three-quarters of a century, was hammered into our heads and crammed down our throats by the slave barons. They declared that "The Constitution was so perfect that no change should be made in it; that it must not even be discussed or criticised by political parties," so that to-day with all its admitted defects and patchwork amendments, we fear to touch it. This was the kind of nauseating "constitutional-pap," which was fed to Northern political weaklings up to the time Mr. Lincoln became President. So thoroughly was this blind idolatry impressed on the average citizen, that even now it gives him something like a congestive chill to suggest such an amendment as I proposed in Congress some twenty-five years ago, and such as I again submitted in an address delivered before the Ohio Society of New York, Nov. 9, 1891.

Observation and experience now incline me to favor such constitutional reforms as political evolution may develop and force upon us. I therefore suggest in this paper, a plan for the abolition of the Vice-President as an officer and for the election of a President, which if voluntarily adopted by the people will secure to the voters of the several States an approximation to proportional representation in the electoral college, without an amendment to our venerated Constitution, and without repealing or changing any law. To the end that I may anticipate and answer some of the objections that will be offered to this plan, I propose to recall to the reader some historical incidents, in connection with our anti-slavery and prohibition political campaigns.

Practically, the old abolitionists often gave aid and comfort unintentionally and unwittingly to the slave barons, against whom they were always ready at the drop of a hat to give battle. So long as they hurled their intellectual thunderbolts against slavery's fortified citadel, they were formidable and dangerous antagonists, because their arguments and appeals against the "sum of all villainies" were impassioned and unanswerable. As a rule, the favorite and generally the only answer of the slave barons to these appeals was an attempt to have all abolitionists silenced by brutal and maddened mobs, and by conduct disgraceful to a civilized people. But when the most worthy of our abolition friends undertook to organize politically and act as practical men, they were in the main failures, and often gave aid and comfort to their pro-slavery enemies.

Here is an enumeration of some of the factions with which practical anti-slavery men had to deal. One small religious faction (every one of whom were anti-slavery men)

would not vote because, as they affirmed, "they were citizens of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, which was not of this world, and that they could not at the same time consistently be citizens of the kingdom of Satan, which was of this world." Therefore they declined to vote with the citizens of Satan's kingdom. Then there were the several branches of the universally respected Quaker family—all of whom were anti-slavery, but a majority of whom could not be induced to vote. Another faction, more pronounced and defiant in their hostility to slavery than those just named, held that "the national Constitution was a covenant with death and a league with hell," and for that reason refused to vote or hold office, because as they declared "they could not take an oath to support such a Constitution." There was also a small but active body of men who held, *as I did*, "that the Constitution, if honestly interpreted, was an anti-slavery instrument, and that property in men was not recognized in the national Constitution." But for the rebellion of the slave barons and the abolition of slavery by military power, the great political battle against slavery in this country would ultimately have been fought out at the ballot-box, as many of us hoped it would be, by a union of all anti-slavery men on a platform affirming "that the national Constitution is fairly interpreted, did not, and could not, recognize property in men." The triumph of such a national party would beyond question have worked a change in the interpretation of the Constitution, without formally amending it. This was my "platform" on the slavery question before I entered public life, and I have never had occasion to modify or change it.

But the wildest and most irrepressible of all the early anti-slavery factions with which we had to deal were the men who year after year met in county, state, and national conventions and nominated on an abolition platform and voted for all elective officers from presidential electors down to constable; and this without regard to the anti-slavery character of the candidates who might be running on any other ticket. At every election they fired their ballots in the air, with a reckless enthusiasm which took no note of disastrous results. Their stereotyped answer to any chiding which we gave them for this kind of misdirected effort was, "We will do our duty and let God take care of the consequences."

Naturally enough the slave barons were delighted as they witnessed these factional fights among anti-slavery men, and especially when all abolition ballots were fired in the

air, and they saw them go up like rockets and come down like sticks.

But for the practical anti-slavery men who voted for and elected Mr. Lincoln in 1860, this indefensible folly on the part of the abolitionist might be going on to-day and the slave barons still be in possession of the government, with slavery as the chief corner-stone of their confederacy.

The election frauds in New York in 1844 could have been defeated, as the records show, by intelligent action on the part of the Whig abolitionists while maintaining their anti-slavery integrity and their party organization intact.

If 90 per cent of the abolition party in the State of New York, which in 1844 cast 15,812 votes for James G. Birney, had printed thirty-five of the thirty-six Clay electors on their ballot and so voted (as that number undoubtedly would have done had the opportunity been given them, because more than nine-tenths of them were Whigs), their record as a party would have been distinct and clear, and their protest against the crime of slavery been made more emphatic than it was made by voting as they did for thirty-six Birney electors whom they knew they could not elect. They would thus have defeated James K. Polk, the candidate most objectionable to all abolitionists, and elected Henry Clay, who stood on the slavery question about where Lincoln stood when he was elected President. In voting for but one Birney elector and for thirty-five Clay electors, they would have secured thirty-five electoral votes in New York for Clay, and this vote would have made him President. This record would have shown that the Whig abolitionists held the balance of power in New York, and, as practical men, knew how to use it.

The mean ratio in New York for a presidential elector in 1844, was 13,500 votes. As stated above, the abolitionists cast that year in New York 15,812 votes for Birney, and therefore would have been entitled, under my plan for proportional representation, to one member of the college of electors in that State, with over two thousands votes to spare: that is, provided the abolitionists had printed the names of thirty-five Clay electors on their ballots and voted the ticket, and the Clay committee had printed the name of one Birney elector on its ballot and voted for it; or the Clay committee might have stipulated that one of their electors should vote for Birney, provided the abolition vote was large enough to give them the balance of power, and their vote would have saved the State for Clay. They would thus have defeated Polk for the Presidency, instead of aiding

and encouraging the ballot-box stuffers, as they did, by firing their ballots in the air. But the desired result, the prevention of frauds in selecting presidential electors, especially in pivotal States, can be accomplished in more ways than one. It is an easy matter, after an election in any State in which a joint electoral ticket is voted for by party groups numerous enough to constitute a majority of the total vote, to allot to each group of voters the number of electors to which they are entitled in the electoral college, in proportion to the total number of ballots cast by each. Of course each stipulation must, of necessity, be intelligently and carefully made before the election.

In 1884, the mean ratio for a presidential elector in the State of New York was 25,000 votes. The Prohibitionists cast that year in New York 25,001 votes, and on a joint electoral ticket would have voted for thirty-five Blaine electors and been entitled to the vote of one elector for St. John. This would have elected Blaine President instead of Cleveland. There is no question that 90 per cent of all the men in New York and Connecticut who voted for St. John in 1884 would have preferred Blaine to Cleveland for President. More than 90 per cent of these Prohibitionists were Republicans, and they held the balance of power in both these States, and could have proclaimed their hostility to the rum-power more effectively and quite as emphatically as they did, had they printed thirty-five Blaine electors on their ballots in New York and one for St. John, and five Blaine electors and one St. John elector for Connecticut. They would thus while preserving their party organization intact, have defeated Cleveland and elected Blaine, and shown that as Republican Prohibitionists they had their second choice for President, while teaching all observers that they were practical common-sense citizens as well as temperance men. Of course, if there had been in New York or in Connecticut in 1844 and in 1884 ten per cent or more of Democrats associated with the Abolition party or the Prohibition party (which from my observation is a violent supposition), they could, had they desired to do so, have had printed on their ballots thirty-five Polk or Cleveland electors for New York and five electors for Connecticut, and in this way voted for their second choice for President. Had such a record been made in 1884 by the Republican Prohibitionists of New York and Connecticut, as above suggested, it would be regarded to-day, by a majority of the American people, and especially by all Republican Prohibitionists, as the most memorable day in the history of their party.

The truth is, that the Abolitionists and Prohibitionists have repeatedly been unwittingly used and abused by pro-slavery men and the rum interest. It is a well-known fact that from 1844 to the election of Lincoln, in all close Northern congressional districts and States, when the occasion invited and party success appeared to demand it, abolition candidates for Congress have been put in the field by pro-slavery men, and kept in the field by their contributions in money, for the purpose of defeating men of ability who, because of their well-known hostility to slavery, were particularly obnoxious to the slave barons. These contributions were always so made that the abolition innocents who expended the money were as unsuspecting as babes, and could not be made to see that they were simply being used as "decoy ducks" to give success to their pro-slavery enemies.

In like manner the rum interests have repeatedly contributed to put in the field in close legislative districts prohibition candidates in order the more certainly to defeat the men who were not wanted in State Legislatures or in Congress by the rum power. And this amazing kind of stupidity promises to go on next year, on a larger and more dazzling scale than ever before, with some half dozen or more candidates in the field and full-fledged presidential electoral tickets for each candidate, and also candidates in many States for every office from Governor down.

The reader will comprehend from what has been written above that it was no easy task for the great body of anti-slavery men who voted for Fremont and Lincoln to get on with these earnest and honest Abolitionists or with the temperance men and women, who often unwittingly aided the ballot-box stuffers, especially as they did in New York in 1884, when they caused Blaine's defeat.

I present these familiar historic facts and personal reminiscences for the considerate judgment of the several groups of earnest, honest men who are to-day engaged in organization of new parties, or who are representing old minority organizations, like the Prohibitionists. Scores of such parties have been born in the last third of a century, and gave up the ghost, leaving a record of stupidity and folly which must to-day amuse and annoy the actors, and yet newer and wilder so-called reform movements are being repeated every year, and draw into them new and enthusiastic converts.

Such parties have heretofore been powerless for any practical purpose, and will continue to be powerless as long as they fire their ballots in the air, while such action may work



*My friend*  
*How happy*

a positive injury, as the wild voting of the old Abolitionists often did. After the experience which the American people have had with the Abolition party and with a score or more of smaller and larger party groups, intelligent and thoughtful men must in time learn that a well-organized party which represents a living idea and holds the balance of power in any county, district, or State, is more formidable for practical political work, if intelligently directed, than a party of many times its number.

When the Presidential election takes place next year, I hope to see as many of the minority political organizations grouped together as can agree to form a joint electoral presidential ticket, with the stipulation that each group or party to the union shall have secured to it, in each State, an equitable representation of the electoral vote, in proportion to the number of ballots cast by each party or group at the general election for the choice of presidential electors in such States. In this way, each party or group of voters would save much time and labor, and also escape the folly of wasting their ballots.

When selecting a presidential candidate on whom a number of minority party groups can unite and make up a joint electoral ticket, the difficulty encountered at the threshold arises from the fact that as our Government has been and is now administered, the President is practically the Government. In recent years it has become the custom to designate him as "our ruler."

Each party group of voters will therefore insist upon knowing the individual opinions of each Presidential candidate on all public questions in which they are especially interested, and unless the candidate can satisfy the several minority party groups that he is sound on their particular tenet, they cannot be induced to unite and vote for such a joint electoral ticket. And because of this condition, which is the legitimate outgrowth of our present complicated political machinery for the choice of a President, there is a standing premium on convention bosses and Presidential candidates who are first-class tricksters.

The practical way, therefore, to the successful accomplishment of the plan which I propose, without amending the Constitution, is to unite and demand a radical change in the mode and manner of administering the Government. For years it has been administered by the fiat of the Executive, and all thoughtful men believe it is time to call a halt. But such a change can only be secured under our Constitution and practice by electing a President who will regard

this as a republic and not as a limited monarchy. It cannot be disguised that during his term of office the President has practically becomes a limited monarch or king, defying the people oftener, and assuming more of the prerogatives of royalty, than many of the oldest crowned heads of Europe. If he can secure a reelection he is practically king for eight years.

All observing men recognize the fact that power has been craftily and steadily seized, year after year, by a majority of our Presidents, until the occupant of that office, whoever he may be, is now often called "our ruler," and is generally recognized as the supreme governing power, not only of his party but of the country.

The members of his cabinet are simply his private secretaries, and if consulted at all, give only such answers to questions submitted as are known to be desired by his royal highness. As a rule, his party in Congress stand ready to enact with alacrity his demands into law. The party representative who refuses to obey the behest of the President can, at his suggestion, be defeated for renomination by officials of his appointment, or, if renominated, be defeated by them at the polls. Those who support the President without question, and for that reason fail of renomination or reelection, are uniformly taken care of and receive an executive appointment, such as foreign missions or cabinet positions, as a recognition of their fidelity to his majesty and in compensation for their defeat.

In this way rebellious constituents who are disloyal to the President are deliberately rebuked, hilariously disciplined and openly defied.

For many years I have favored a constitutional amendment limiting the President's power in every way possible, especially his veto power and his power to make appointments and removals from office without cause. But it will not be questioned by any thoughtful reader that the provision in the Constitution which confers on the President the veto power may be materially modified or changed without the customary formality of amending it.

A national convention of any party may nominate a candidate for President on a platform demanding a modification of the veto power, such as I more than once proposed in Congress and repeatedly advocated in political campaigns, and any man elected to the Presidency on such a platform would be in duty bound to use the veto power, if at all, only in the manner therein set forth.

Unquestionably any man may, after reaching the presi-

dential office, without waiting for the directing authority of his party, on his own motion, either in his inaugural address or in a message to Congress, give notice that he will not, during his term of office, use the veto power, except in the modified form herein suggested; and such a modification of the veto power, by the voluntary act of the President, would operate while he was in office as a practical modification of the executive power without amending the Constitution.

In the Forty-first Congress I proposed three constitutional amendments, which provided for the nomination and for the election of the President by direct ballot by all the duly qualified voters of the United States, and for the modification of the veto power as herein proposed; also for the abolition of the office of Vice-President.

While holding that the results intended to be secured by these proposed amendments may be in part accomplished without them, I know, as the reader must know, that the end desired can be more certainly attained and permanently secured with such amendments.

The practical point to be reached under my plan is to obtain approximately for each individual voter an equality of political power, a free ballot and an honest count. This result cannot be secured under the complicated system now in use for the choice of presidential electors except by some such plan as I propose.

In making up joint electoral tickets for the several States, the committee representing each party or group of organized voters in any State would submit an estimate of the number of ballots which in their State would probably be cast for such joint electoral tickets. The ratio required for an elector can easily be estimated, and each State committee authorized to name the number of electors on the proposed joint ticket to which their vote would entitle them, with the stipulation that if after the election it was found that the vote of any party group was larger than estimated, the increased vote should be given its additional proportional representation in the electoral college; and if in any State a party group failed to cast enough ballots at the election to make one ratio, that they should not have a vote allotted them in the electoral college. But provision might properly be made in each closely contested State in favor of any party group that held the balance of power, whose joint votes carried the election against the dominant party in the State. The mean ratio for an elector in any State can be obtained by dividing the total vote of the State by

the number of electors to which it is entitled, so that prior to any election each party group can easily approximate the number of electoral votes to which it would be entitled on any joint electoral ticket.

I cannot better illustrate the absolute necessity for a change in our dangerous and unfair system of electing a President than by giving the official vote for Hale, Scott, and Pierce in 1852, and the vote in 1860 for Lincoln, Douglas, Breckenridge, and Bell, with the ratio for each elector chosen.

	POPULAR VOTE.	ELECTORS.	RATIO
Pierce, Democrat . . . . .	1,585,545	254	6,242
Scott, Whig . . . . .	1,383,537	42	32,938
Hale, Abolition . . . . .	157,296	00	00

It will be seen that Pierce received 254 electoral votes and Scott but 42 votes, while Hale did not get even one electoral vote.

Divide the total vote as above given, 3,126,378, by 296, the whole number of presidential electors for that year, and the ratio for one elector was 10,562 votes, but the Pierce electors were chosen by a ratio of only 6,242; while the ratio for the Scott electors was 32,938, or more than five times the number which elected the Pierce electors, while Hale did not receive one electoral vote, although he had 157,296 ballots cast and counted for him.

If the total vote had been divided proportionally as I suggested in making up joint electoral tickets, Pierce would have had but 150 electoral votes, Scott 131 votes, and Hale 15. As Pierce received a majority over both Scott and Hale of the popular vote, he would of course have had a majority of the electoral votes over both, and have been declared the President.

An examination of the election returns for 1860 illustrates in a still stronger light the injustice of our present system. The popular vote and the electoral vote for 1860, were as follows:

	POPULAR VOTE.	ELECTORS.	RATIO.
Lincoln, Republican . . . . .	1,866,452	180	10,369
Douglas, Democrat . . . . .	1,375,157	12	114,596
Breckenridge, S. . . . .	847,953	72	11,770
Bell, Abolition . . . . .	590,631	39	15,144
Total vote . . . . .	4,680,193	303 electoral votes.	

If proportional representation had been secured to all voters at this election, as I demand, Mr. Lincoln would have had 121 electors, Douglas 89, Breckenridge 55, and Bell 38.

It required but 10,369 votes for a Lincoln elector, while it required 114,596 votes to make a ratio for a Douglas elector.

It will be conceded that it would be difficult to invent any plan for the choice of a President more glaringly unjust and undemocratic than is disclosed by the election returns for 1860.

Why should a system be tolerated which gave to Douglas but 12 votes in the electoral college on a popular vote of 1,375,157 when his just proportion would have given him 89 electors?

This inequality and injustice is inseparable from the present system of electing a President, as an examination of the records for the past fifty years will show, but never before nor since 1860 did it require one hundred and fourteen thousand five hundred and ninety-six votes as a ratio for one elector, as in the case of Douglas at that election.

I know that it requires time, brains and personal activity successfully to organize and move against a solid party column of old veterans, which, with its recognized leaders and flaming banners is marching with the machine in familiar pathways to the music of fife and drum. And yet, the political unrest is so universal that I believe the time is opportune for thoughtful voters in all the States and Territories to organize and present to the next Republican and Democratic national conventions, a demand that the proposed amendments substantially as hereinafter presented shall be made a part of their platforms as a condition to voting for a joint electoral ticket in any State, or for any candidate either party may nominate.

If the conventions to which these propositions may be submitted, decline to engraft them, or any part of them, in their platform, and the candidates nominated refuse to endorse them, or to pledge themselves to be governed by them in case of their election, then the party groups that formulated and presented them must determine what action they will take touching the formation of joint electoral tickets in the several States, for the *defeat* of the candidates most obnoxious to them.

If they are in earnest and are practical men, they must organize and elect as many Representatives and Senators in Congress as possible favorable to their platform, and make joint tickets wherever they hold the balance of power, and can *elect* the candidate they *favor* and *defeat* those who are most objectionable.

The following are substantially the propositions which I

hope to see submitted next year to the conventions of both parties, for their acceptance or rejection:

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS.

We demand such an amendment of the national Constitution as shall secure to each duly qualified voter in the United States the right to cast one ballot direct for the nomination and for the election of President of the United States, and that the person so elected shall be ineligible for reelection.

We demand that the office of Vice-President be abolished.

We demand a modification of the veto power as now conferred by the Constitution on the President.

This modification shall authorize him to return with his objections to the house in which it originated, any bill or resolution passed by Congress. But if after its reconsideration it shall again be passed by a majority of all the members in each House (to which the Senate and House is entitled), it shall become a law, the President's objections to the contrary notwithstanding.

We demand a modification of the President's power of appointment to civil office, and that said appointees shall not be removed without cause.

We demand that the Constitution be so amended that United States Senators shall be nominated and elected by ballot by direct vote of the duly qualified electors in each State.

We demand that Representatives in Congress shall be nominated and elected by direct ballot, in all States having two or more members, in such manner as shall secure proportional representation to the duly qualified voters in such States.

With the adoption of a constitutional amendment for the nomination and election of a President by popular vote, and the modification of the veto power as above proposed, or with a President elected under the Constitution as it is, on a platform as above suggested, Congress becomes the sole law-making power, without Presidential intervention; and to the House of Representatives, chosen by the direct vote of the people, must be submitted for official action all questions of home government and all matters touching our foreign relations with the great governments of the world.

The Committee of Ways and Means would be the official organ of the House for the preparation and presenting to it of all bills on the tariff, and for internal revenue taxation.



Other appropriate committees would be duly organized and charged with the preparation of all subjects of legislation, whether that of coining money (gold and silver) and fixing the value thereof, or of continuing or discontinuing national banks, all questions in connection with interstate commerce and the adjustment of labor controversies, and of excluding contract laborers by restricting immigration and providing against fraudulent and undesirable naturalization, and so on to the end of the chapter.

The subject of the enforcement of the "Monroe doctrine" in its letter and spirit would be in special charge of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and the President and Secretary of State would be authorized to move officially only as directed by a majority of the House of Representatives. If the voters of the nation could have thus spoken through the House of Representatives, the Nicaragua incident would probably not have happened. In any event, it would not have been tolerated without vigorous protest, and official notice would have been given to call a halt.

On a platform substantially as I have herein outlined, I could cheerfully vote for any man of recognized character and executive ability for President. Such a candidate, pledged to stand on such a platform, might personally favor legislation to which I was opposed, or be unfavorable to legislation that I desired, and yet if otherwise up to my standard of what an executive should be I would vote for him, and have no fear that my confidence would be misplaced, because on such a platform he would have no motive or excuse for deceiving or betraying anyone. With such a platform and such a candidate, I would know that if elected he would not assume the prerogatives which nearly all our Presidents have assumed in the past fifty years, by defiantly using and abusing the veto power, and the appointing power, when making an effort to secure a renomination or to force through Congress such legislation as they demanded.

Every intelligent man who voted for such a candidate would know that Congress alone and not the President, without executive interference, must determine each political question as it presented itself.

Such an Executive would be my ideal of an American President. He would of necessity be first of all an American. He would labor for the domination of American ideas and American interests not only on the North but on the South American continents and on the tributary islands of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

Instead of a scheming partisan, he would in his public life and acts be more like a dignified and upright judge, dealing impartially and honestly with men and measures. He would at no time, and under no circumstances, assume the prerogatives of a king. Such a President would give his opinions with frankness, and confer with the nation's representative men without dissimulation or intrigue. As the nation's chief magistrate, it would simply be his duty to execute, without fear or favor, the written law of a free people.

As I see it, the impending political advance must of necessity be made substantially along the lines indicated in the foregoing constitutional amendments.

# THE PEOPLE'S LAMPS.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS.

## PART I. ELECTRIC LIGHT (§ 3, continued).

Having examined the investment and fixed charges, we come to the cost of operation. We will first tabulate and classify the facts in the committee's possession, and afterward state the conclusions to which the data seem to point. That the reader may not be obliged to refer continually to the previous parts of this report, the results already arrived at respecting investment and fixed charges are carried forward into the tables of operating cost, so that the following columns show, not only the operating cost, but also the investment and the total cost of production, or operating cost *plus* fixed charges. In many cases, as we have seen, the returns tabulated under the head "expenditure per arc per year" include so much new value as to cover depreciation and sometimes the whole body of fixed charges; but the full fixed charges—5 per cent on the investment, the limit rate as ascertained in the preceding discussion—has been added in every case to the actual expenditure per arc, so that the figures in the column of "total cost of production" may represent the utmost cost, even waiving the cancellation of fixed charges by new values.

TABLE XX.

COST OF PRODUCING LIGHT IN PUBLIC PLANTS.

Group A.—Steam street plants. Standard Service, or 2,000-c.-p. lamps all night every night.

	No. of arcs in use.	Source of Power.	Run with other works or not.	Expen- diture per arc per year.	Invest- ment per arc.	Total cost of produc- tion under complete public own- ership.	Interest on debt per arc per year.
West Troy . . .	115	c. \$3.15	No	\$61	\$279	\$75	No debt
Allegheny, Pa. . .	62*	s. .95	No	64	300	79	No debt
Easton, Pa. . . .	122	c. 3.00	No	85	325	92	\$11.20
Painesville, O. . .	70	c. 2.10	No	52½	180	61½	-
Dunkirk, N. Y. . .	75	c. 2.00	Yes	46	265	59½	No debt
Bloomington, Ill. .	240	c. 1.75	Yes	50	330	66½	-
Wheeling, W. Va. .	411	c. 1.04	Yes	65	300	80	\$10

\* Allegheny has some incandescents in the public buildings, but the superintendent satisfactorily separates the cost of the arcs.

The Easton lamps are much more than 2,000-c.-p. In column 2, c. means "coal," s. means "slack," and the figures indicate the price per ton. Dunkirk and Bloomington unite the electric service with the water works, and Wheeling joins it with the city gas works. The rest run alone.

Group B.—Steam Street Plants. Full arcs 2,000 c.-p. not burned all night.

	No. of arcs in use.	Aver- age hours of burn- ing.	Source of Power.	Expen- diture per arc per year.	Invest- ment per arc.	Total cost of produc- tion under complete public owner- ship.	Interest on debt per arc per year.
Fredonia, N. Y. . .	58	6½	c. \$2.00	\$46.50	\$203	\$58.50	No debt
North East, Pa. . .	30	5	c. 3.00	50.00	66	53.33½	No debt
Frederick, Md. . .	65	6	—	54.00	230	65.50	—
Bay City, Mich. . .	181	7	c. 1.95	50.00	198	60.00	No debt
Kalamazoo, Mich.,	180	8	c. 2.50	58.00	211	68.50	\$8.50
Marietta, O. . . .	110	9½	Nat. gas \$8 a year per lamp	33.75	165	42.00	No debt
Painesville, O. . .	70	5		44.25	190	53.50	—
S. Evanston, Ill. . .	64	6		67.00	105	72.25	No debt
Elgin, Ill. . . . .	98	10	—	43.00	250	55.50	—
Bowling Green, Ky. . . . .	72	7½	—	50.00	200	60.00	—
Topeka, Kan. . . .	184	8	c. 2.70	74.00	300	87.00	—
Little Rock, Ark.,	210	8	c. 3.15	42.00	167	50.00	No debt
Aurora, Ill. . . .	200	6½	c. 1.60	53.50	250	61.00	No debt
Paris, Ill. . . . .	90	8	—	40.00	111	45.50	—
La Salle, Ill. . . .	98	8	sl. .75	35.00	112	40.50	\$1.25
Martinsville, Ind.,	30	moon	—	33.00	166	41.33½	—
Goshen, Ind. . . .	40	6	—	68.00	275	81.75	No debt
Columbus, Ind. . .	68	8	—	36.00	150	43.50	—
Fairfield, Ia. . . .	16	6½	c. 2.30	70.00	312	85.50	No debt

The last seven plants are operated in connection with other works—water works in every case but the last, and perhaps in that; the kind of other works is not specified in its report. The first twelve plants are not operated with other works. The Painesville figures represent the results obtained before the recent change to all-night service. In column 3, "c." means coal, "sl." = slack, "nat. g." = natural gas.

Group C.—Steam Street Plants with sub-arcs.

	No. of 1200 c.-p. lamps in use.	Aver- age hours of burn- ing.	Source of power.	Expen- diture per lamp per year.	Invest- ment per lamp.	Total cost of produc- tion under complete public owner- ship.	Interest on debt per lamp per year.
Danvers, Mass. . .	78	5.7	c. \$3.00	\$46.00	\$212	\$56.50	\$13.50
Braintree, Mass. .	118*	7.5	c. 3.05	47.50	230	58.00	11.50
Hudson, Wis. . . .	50	6	—	36.00	140	42.00	—
Jamestown, N. Y.,	137	6	—	21.50	210	32.00	—
Portsmouth, O. . .	150*	6	c. 1.25	39.00	200	49.00	No debt
Marshalltown, Ia.,	64	5	c. 1.40	18.50	190	27.50	No debt
	No. lamps averaging 1400 c.-p.						
South Norwalk. . .	98	7	c. 3.65	42.33½	218	53.00	\$8.00

Braintree and Portsmouth have also some commerce and will appear again below. Portsmouth and Marshalltown are operated with the water works; the rest are operated alone.

## Group D.—Steam Incandescent Plants.

	No. 16 c.-p. lamps of equiv- alent in street use.	Hours of burn- ing.	Total No. of 16 c.-p. in use.	Hours burned (esti- mated)	Source of power.	Cost per lamp per year.	Invest- ment per lamp.	Total cost of produc- tion per lamp under public owner- ship.	Inter- est per lamp per year.
Madison, N. J. . .	822	8	3,388	34	c. \$3.50	\$2.67	\$12.40	\$3.27	\$0.60
Fulda, Minn. . .	30	6	230	-	-	5.50	23.00	-	.26
Chariton, Ia. . .	200	7	1,350	12*	c. 1.60	4.30	23.00	-	1.15
Falls City, Neb.,	150	7	780	4	c. 2.65	3.50	11.50	4.00	.45
Tecumseh, Neb.,	-	-	500	5	c. 3.25	2.88	14.00	3.58	-
Atlantic, Ia. . .	310	5	3,310	-	c. 1.50	2.26	14.00	3.00	.30
Leon, Ia. . . .	88	6	438	-	c. 1.85	5.32	32.00	7.00	1.25
Rockport, Mo. .	130	8	500	-	c. 2.90	5.22	28.00	6.62	1.44
Shelbina, Mo. .	140	-	640	-	wd. 2.00	4.55	10.33	5.00	.55
Hope, Ark. . . .	52	6	150	-	-	3.40	24.00	4.60	nodebt

\* The daily average of twelve hours for the incandescent lamps of Chariton, Ia., is given on the authority of Rosewater. If it is correct the plant supplies light at less than one-tenth of a cent per lamp-hour.

The Madison plant is operated with the water works; the Rockport works are also coordinated with others; Atlantic, Chariton, Leon, and Shelbina run alone; the rest do not report on this point.

## Group E.—Steam Commercial Plants with Arc and Incandescent Lights.

It must be specially noted that column 7 gives the cost of production per full-arc equivalent, and not merely the cost to the city per street-lamp after deducting receipts as was the case in TABLE XII.

The first six and last five plants use 1200 c.-p. arcs, the others use 2000 c.-p.	No. Street lamps in use.	Hours of burn- ing.	Full- arc equiv- alents in use.	Source of power.	Ex- pen- diture per full- arc equiv- alent.	Invest- ment per full- arc equiv- alent.	Total cost of produc- tion per full-arc equiv- alent.	Inter- est per full- arc equiv- alent out- put.	Income per full- arc equiv- alent of com- mercial lights.
Braintree, Mass. .	118	6½	409	c. \$3.05	\$19.00	\$132	\$25.00	\$5.00	\$10.76
Peabody, Mass. . .	150	9½	250	c. 3.30	38.80	225	50.00	7.75	21.44
Quakertown, Pa. .	40	6½	180	c. 2.50	19.00	105	24.25	3.33	10.00
Farmville, Va. . .	25	6	166	c. 3.40	24.00	72	27.50	0	24.75
Indianola, Ia. . .	44	6	104	c. 1.20	28.75	221	40.00	9.00	48.00
High Point, N. C.,	32	6	34	wd. 2.00	38.00	175	46.50	-	50.00
Westfield, N. Y. .	60	8	116	c. 2.00	45.00	110	50.50	3.69	50.00
St. Charles, O. . .	30	9	805	c. 0.60	17.75	100	22.75	4.75	24.00
St. Charles, Mo. .	60	8	80	c. 2.00	56.50	187	60.00	9.50	80.00
Hannibal, Mo. . .	75	9	350	c. 2.00	19.00	134	25.50	3.33	22.50
Madison, Ga. . . .	40	7	77	c. 2.90	72.00	290	86.00	3.00	46.00
Clyde, O. . . . .	51	5	120	c. 2.45	25.00	116	30.75	5.00	26.00
De Graff, O. . . .	30	5½	130	c. & w. 2½ & 2	26	105	31.00	5.50	17.75
Newcastle, Ind. .	60	8	185	Nat. gas \$2 a yr. pr. lamp	134	108	19.00	3.33	20.00
Laverne, Minn. . .	12	5	134	c. 3.35	22.00	72	25.00	3.00	35.00
Chehalis, Wash. .	28	11	92	wd. 1.50	61.33	150	69.00	10.50	95.00
Kendallville, Ind.,	43	11	60	c. 2.55	29.00	133	36.00	0	60.00
Schuyler, Neb. . .	10	4	52	c. 3.50	35.00	92	39.50	4.33	42.00
Alexandria, Minn.,	10	4½	94	wd. 1.40	24.00	64	27.00	4.00	30.00
Wellston, O. . . .	58	6	164	c. 1.00	14.75	122	21.00	6.00	24.00
Portsmouth, O. . .	140	6	100	c. 1.25	58.00	300	73.00	0	114.00
Herrington, Kan. .	28	-	94	c. 2.43	67.00	203	82.00	-	65.00

The first two divisions, Braintree to Madison inclusive, run alone; the last two are coordinated, generally with the water works. In Kendallville and Portsmouth the commercial lamps are arcs, in all the other cases they are incandescent.

## Group F.—Water-Power Plants.

	No. of street arcs.	Candle power.	Hours of burning.	No. of 16 c.-p. lamps (commerce)	Cost of production per full-arc equivalent per year.	Investment per full-arc equivalent.
Lewiston, Me. . .	100	2000	8 all n. moon	—	\$43.00	\$160
Bangor, Me. . .	130	2000	10 all night	—	34.00	230
Ypsilanti, Mich. . .	88	2000	6	—	36.00	261
Crete, Neb. . .	50	1200	6	—	*	190
Brainerd, Minn. . .	30	—	6	1000	19.00	258
Marquette, Mich. . .	100	2000	all night	2700	40.00	160
Swanton, Vt. . .	21	2000	all n. moon	1690	8.00	168
Marseilles, Ill. . .	21	2000	all night	800	12.50	171
Middleboro, Mass. . .	—	—	—	1468	8.00	800
Franklin, Mass. . .	22	2000	6	350	35.00	188

\* Cost of production is not given; net cost to city = 0.

The last three plants are private; Bangor, Ypsilanti, Marquette, and Swanton coordinate their electric plants with the water works; Lewiston and Crete run alone; the rest unknown.

TABLE XXI.

## REPORTED COST OF PRODUCTION IN PRIVATE PLANTS. STEAM.

The figures with the name of the company indicate the power-customers previously mentioned. The dash shows that the company has a few incandescent street-lamps, which to save space are lumped with the other incandescents in the "commercial" column. The number of such lamps is small, being less than three per cent of the total incandescent in the Cambridge Co., which is one of the strongest cases. The "total cost" of column 7 is obtained by adding ten per cent on the investment per lamp to the reported cost of operation per lamp. This ten per cent is made up of three per cent depreciation, one per cent insurance beyond what is covered by the insurance companies, and six per cent legal interest, which must be included in the cost of production under private enterprise, though it is otherwise with public undertakings, as heretofore fully explained.

## Group A.—Full Arcs and Incandescents.

	STREET LAMPS.		COMMERCIAL.		Reported cost of operation per full-arc equivalent.	Investment per full-arc equivalent.	Total cost of production per full-arc equivalent.	Income per full-arc equivalent.
	No. of 2000 c.-p.	Hours average.	2000 c.-p. or equivalents.	16 c.-p.				
Boston E. L. Co., 135	1500	all n.	1592	25000	\$60	\$405	\$100	\$86
Brookline Co. . . 4	310	all n.	53	10729	36	215	57	41
Charlestown Co. . .	214	all n.	43	460	52	155	67	65
Chelsea Co. . . 16	195	8	56	3998	43	187	62	52
Fall River Co. . .	384	all n.	1052	549	77	365	113	134
Hyde Park Co. . .	113	5	46	5834	18	250	43	25
Lawrence Co. . . 33-	163	9	194	6591	43	214	64	59
Lowell Co. . . 97	385	all n.	338	7076	45	320	77	73
Lynn Co. . . 40-	407	9	170	8446	43	225	65	74
Salem Co. . . 17-	181	all n.	119	9100	44	195	63	67
Suburban Co. . . 86	—	—	237	7587	55	213	76	55
Woburn Co. . . 6-	95	4	48	7517	32	329	64	40
Worcester Co. . . 1	410	all n.	324	6852	46	215	67	85



## Group B.—Sub-arcs and Incandescents. Steam.

LOCATION OF CO.	STREET LAMPS.		COMMERCIAL.		Report- ed cost of oper- ation per sub- arc equiva- lent.	Invest- ment per sub- arc.	Total cost of production per sub-arc.	Income per sub- arc of output.
	1200 c.-p.	Hours aver- age.	1200 c.-p.	16 c.-p.				
Amherst . . . .	22	5	-	1651	\$15	\$127	\$27.70	\$21.00
Andover . . . .	31	8	-	1360	34½	225	57.00	40.00
Cambridge . . . .	66-461	all n.	47	8785	30	224	52.40	48.00
Clinton . . . .	41	8	10	2676	26	204	46.40	27.50
Dedham . . . .	23	8	10	3256	15	204	35.40	25.50
Fitchburg . . . .	206	7	57	1800	41	187	59.70	57.00
Frammingham . . . .	53	5½	11	3180	22	200	42.90	26.00
Gardner . . . .	51	5	51	3320	13	74	20.40	18.00
Gloucester . . . .	24-46	all n.	45	1755	48	356	83.60	65.00
Greenfield . . . .	2	5	-	1838	25	113	36.30	32.00
Malden . . . .	4-178	6	20	17936	16	120	27.00	26.00
Marlboro . . . .	57	6½	60	2547	28	188	46.80	35.00
Southbridge . . . .	55	5	32	1070	25	190	44.00	34.00
Springfield (United)	508	all n.	342	11707	32	250	57.00	56.00
Taunton . . . .	90	6	107	2639	35	150	48.00	38.00
Westboro . . . .	28	5	-	2049	15	116	26.60	19.00
Whitman . . . .	27	4	26	2047	21	162	37.20	24.00
Winchendon . . . .	23	5	9	1136	18	126	30.60	23.00

## Group C.—Unmized Plants.

	STREET LAMPS.			Com- mercial, 16 c.-p.	Report- ed cost of opera- tion per lamp.	Invest- ment per lamp.	Total cost of production per lamp.	Income per lamp.
	No. in use.	Candle power.	Aver- age hours a day.					
					1200 c-p.	1200 c-p.	1200 c-p.	1200 c-p
Athol Co. . . . .	36	1200	5	2*	\$75	\$380	\$113	\$75
Chicopee Co. . . .	113	1200	5½	-	30	130	52	71
Spencer Co. . . .	70	1200	4½	-	61	357	97	77½
					16 c.-p.	16 c.-p.	16 c.-p.	16 c.-p.
Citizens' Co. (Read- ing) . . . . .	-	-	-	700	\$13.00	\$111	\$24.00	\$12.50
Cohasset Co. . . .	278	30	5½	710	4.00	57	7.70	6.00
Eliot Falls Co. . .	-	-	-	28	\$2.00	4000	482.00	140.00
Leicester Co. . . .	149	25	5	1264	3.15	34	6.55	3.55
Milton Co. . . . .	403	25	8	2500	2.60	21	4.70	3.75
S. Hadley Falls Co. .	160	40	5	600	2.61	10½	3.86	3.63

\* 16 c.-p. equivalent.

TABLE XXII.  
UNDERGROUND SYSTEMS.

	No. OF LAMPS.		Yearly cost.	Investment.	Income.
	Ares.	Ind. 16 c.-p.			
Chicago . . . . .	1110 full ares	-	\$96.67 per full arc	\$620 per arc	-
Edison Co. (Boston). 551	800	84531	\$3.50 per 16 c.-p. eq.	\$40 per 16 c.-p. eq.	\$6.66 per 16 c.-p. eq.
Edison Co. (Fall River). 33	-	6050	\$3.12 per 16 c.-p.	\$17 per 16 c.-p.	\$5.30 per 16 c.-p.

All the figures concerning the Edison Cos. in columns 3, 4, and 5 would be smaller if the power consumed by the 551 and the 33 power-customers could be taken into account. As already seen in the note to Table X, about \$35 of the Chicago cost per lamp is attributable to the better treatment of labor.

In respect to a number of public plants the committee is in possession of partial data of considerable interest, but has not all the facts necessary for classification in the above groups. For example, C. A. Ballou, city engineer and superintendent of the gas and electric light departments, Danville, Va., sends the following items for 1894: Total disbursements of electric department, \$3,803; receipts other than Danville taxes, \$1,885; balance to be charged to Danville tax fund, \$1,918, or \$24 each for the 80 public arcs operated on the streets—a saving of \$6,082 to the taxpayers, or \$76 per lamp, since the private companies there charge \$100 per lamp for the same service.

The new electric plant of Jacksonville, Fla., has begun operations since the second section of this report was printed. Under date of August 14, Superintendent Patterson gives the following figures for July, '95: Operating expenses \$1,452; receipts from commercial lights, \$882; balance \$570, the cost to the city of its public electric lights, 117 full arcs, 300 incandescents of 30 c-p. and 80 of 16 c-p., nearly 200 arc-equivalents, for which, at the rates in force before the public plant was built, the city would have paid \$2,000—a difference of about \$1,500. Mr. Clarkson, of the Board of Public Works, estimates that interest, depreciation, and added cost by reason of expenses not felt in the first month will amount to \$812 per month, which still leaves a clear saving of \$620. The consumers' saving is still greater. Mr. Patterson gives:

58 commercial arcs at \$6.50	. . . . .	\$377
1,233 commercial incandescents	. . . . .	505
		<hr/>
		\$882

For the same service before the company reduced its rates to compete with the public plant, the private charge would have been:

58 commercial arcs	. . . . .	\$725
1,233 commercial incandescents	. . . . .	1,849
		<hr/>
		\$2,574

Here is a saving of \$1,692 to consumers, which, with the \$620 margin on public lights, makes a total saving to the city of \$2,312 from one month of public ownership of the electric-light service. And this is only the beginning; only about one-third of the lights the plant has to sell have as yet been taken. But applications are rapidly coming in, and it is thought that in a year or so the plant will be self-sustaining even with the very low rates at which light is sold (see §2), and that when the full capacity of the plant is in use there will be a surplus income of \$10,000 or \$12,000 a year after lighting the streets free. These and other cases of partial data are set forth in Table XXIII.

TABLE XXIII.

## SUPPLEMENTARY GROUPS OF PUBLIC PLANTS.

NON-COMMERCIAL PLANTS.	STREET LAMPS.			With other works.	Power.	Cost of production per lamp.	Investment per lamp.
	No.	C. P.	Hours.				
Staunton, Va. . . . .	50	2000	10	-	-	\$24	\$340
Alexandria, Va. . . . .	92	1500	all n.	Yes	c. \$3.07	55	174
Gainesville, Ga. . . . .	50	1200	all n.	Yes	w. 1.50	50	200
Aberdeen, Miss. . . . .	35	-	8	-	c. 2.75	67	285
St. Joseph, Mo. . . . .	253	2000	8	-	c. 1.65	52	245
Sherman, Tex. . . . .	43	-	7	-	c. 4.00	63	232
Galveston, Tex. . . . .	191 360	2000 16	8	-	c. 4.00	70	170
Fort Worth, Tex. . . . .	-	1200	8	-	-	57	-
Santa Cruz, Cal. . . . .	75	1200	7½	Yes	w. 3.50	50	-
Alameda, Cal. . . . .	95	2000	5	-	-	120	470
Sleepy Eye Lake, Minn. . . . .	60	1200	5	-	-	35	-
Pontiac, Mich. . . . .	-	2000	5	-	-	36	-
Lyons, Ia. . . . .	59	-	7	-	w. .90	58	290
Moline, Ill. . . . .	80	2000	all n.	-	-	53	270
Ottawa, Ill. . . . .	100	2000	all n.	-	-	33½	160
Huntington, Ind. . . . .	53	2000	all n.	No	{ Gas \$800 year Nat. gas }	50	285
Blufftown, Ind. . . . .	85	2000	midn.	No		60	123
Marion, Ind. . . . .	-	2000	all n.	-	-	37	-
Anderson, Ind. . . . .	150	2000	all n.	-	-	34½	180
Madison, Ind. . . . .	86	-	8	-	-	58	280
Xenia, O. . . . .	80	-	moon	-	c. 2.20	60	231
Ashtabula, O. . . . .	120	1000	3 a. m.	No	c. 2.20	54	130
Herkimer, N. Y. . . . .	50	2000	1 a. m.	Yes	c. 2.68	50	280
Waterville, Me. . . . .	-	2000	all n.	-	-	44	-
Chambersburg, Pa. . . . .	72	2000	6	Yes	c. 3.00	45	270
Emmaus, Pa. . . . .	12	2000	to 11 p. m.	No	c. 2.50	45	250
Sharpsburg, Pa. . . . .	35	2000	8	-	gas	42	164
Meadville, Pa. . . . .	74	2000	8	-	gas	50	285
Titusville, Pa. . . . .	60	-	10	Yes	-	40	180

COMMERCIAL PLANTS.	No. commercial lamps 16-c-p. equiv.	STREET LAMPS.			Total full-arc equivalents in use.	Power.	Cash cost to city per street lamp per year.	Investment per full-arc equivalent.	With other works.
		Arc equivalents.	C. P.	Hours					
Danville, Va. . .	-	80	-	-	-	-	\$24	-	-
Salem, Va. . .	650	50	-	-	131	-	55	\$200	-
Statesville, N. C. .	220	30	-	8	58	w. \$3.60	40*	150	-
Jacksonville, Fla.,	17 0	200	2000	-	412	-	40	180	-
Attalia, Ala. . .	130	25	2000	11	43	c. 1.65	80	232	Yes
Council Grove, Kan. . . . .	45	20	1200	-	26	-	0	300	-
Lyons, Kan. . . .	398	28	2000	6	66	-	0	85	-
Savannah, Mo. . .	450	25	1200	midn.	73	c. 1.50	0	165	No
Albany, Mo. . . .	1000	30	1200	8	145	w. 2.00	0	80	No
Vancouver, Wash.,	540	35	-	12	103	-	50*	170	-
Arlington, Minn. .	120	4	-	5	19	w. -	40	165	Yes, Flour Mill
St. Peters, Minn. .	1000	45	2000	6	170	c. -	0	80	Yes, W. W.
Batavia, Ill. . . .	-	120	-	all n. moon	-	-	0	-	-
Decatur, Ill. . . .	2500	120	2000	moon	432	-	50*	-	-
Metropolis, Ill. . .	660	34	2000	7	116	c. 1.15	27.50	70	Yes, W. W.
Crawfordsville, Ind. . . . .	2100	141	2000	6	403	nat. gas \$6 yr. per full arc eq.	25.50	175	No
Galion, O. . . . .	600	72	2000	all n. moon	147	-	40	185	-
Miamisburg, O. . .	800	46	2000	all n.	146	c. 1.75	52	90	No
Oxford, O. . . . .	1300	36	-	-	198	-	0	118	-
Shelby, O. . . . .	725	44	2000	8	135	c. \$13 yr. per arc eq.	56	170	No
Middleton, Pa. . .	500	51	2000	11	113	c. 1.95	0	220	No

\* For Statesville, Vancouver, and Decatur the figures of the seventh column represent the cost of production without subtracting receipts, and not the net cost as in the other cases.

This table is not as satisfactory as the former tables. Many officers and investigators seem to think it is sufficient if they ascertain the cost per lamp per year, without going into details. This is a great mistake. One naturally has more confidence in a report which gives the elements of service and cost, and is more instructed by it. Still, these supplementary returns are interesting as tending to confirm the results emerging from previous tables and as indicating to the student a rich field for further research.

Let us see now how the operating cost is divided:

TABLE XXIV.

## DISTRIBUTION OF OPERATING COST.

The yearly cost per arc is given for each item. Labor includes superintendence, and materials cover waste, oil, carbons, etc. The item called "sundries" in many cases includes insurance, as in Braintree, Easton, Little Rock, Topeka, Peabody, etc.

## Group A.—Pure Street Plants.

	Chicago, 1110 street arcs 2000 c. p., all n., c. \$2.50; with fire and telegraph.	Easton, 122 street arcs 2500 c. p., all n., c. \$3; alone.	Wheeling, 411 street arcs 2000 c. p., all n., c. \$1.04; with gas works.	West Troy, 115 street arcs 2000 c. p., all n., c. \$3.15; alone.	Dunkirk, 75 street arcs 2000 c. p., all n., c. \$2; W. W.
Labor . . . .	\$52.20	\$28.00	\$37.00	\$25.00	\$12.50
Coal . . . .	28.00	33.00	9.33	20.00	16.50
Repairs . . . .	7.25	9.50	7.00	*	2.66
Materials . . . .	7.00	7.00	7.66	10.00	7.00
Sundries . . . .	2.20	7.68	4.00	6.00	7.33
	\$96.50	\$85.33†	\$65.00	\$61.00	\$46.00

\* In the case of West Troy, repairs are included in other items.

† Since writing the second section of this report the committee has visited Easton and has ascertained that the high cost per arc is due, not to the inclusion of interest, but to the high candle power of the lamps (540 watts instead of 450 as is usual; the latter could be run for \$76 in Easton, other things remaining the same) and to the fact that so few lamps are used. I made a detailed estimate in the presence and with the assistance of the superintendent, with the result that if 400 lamps were installed the labor cost per lamp would be only about \$12 or \$13, and the entire operating cost not more than \$55 per 2,500 c.-p. lamp or \$48 per lamp of 2,000 candle-power. The fixed charges would be about \$9 per arc.

In Chicago, I believe the city plant could run 3,000 arcs with about one-half more labor, making the labor cost \$29 per arc and the entire cost \$75 per arc with eight-hour labor well paid. The fixed charges would then amount to about \$16 an arc, and \$1.50 should be added for water; the Chicago plant does not pay for the water it uses; the Easton plant pays \$2 an arc for water. Chicago pays \$3.50 for nut coal and \$1.65 for screenings, making \$2.50 per ton on the average. If the city should extend its electric system to commercial business, good construction and skilful management should obtain at least 150 watt hours per pound of coal (see Table XXIV), bringing the coal cost per arc per year down to \$15; the labor cost with 3 shifts would be about \$22 an arc-equivalent, so that the total running cost would probably not exceed \$50 an arc with the men working 8 hours and no pay lower than \$2 a day.

	Bangor, 150 street arcs 2000 c. p., all n., water power and with water works.	Painesville, 70 street arcs 2000 c. p., all n., c. \$2.10; alone.	Goshen, 31 street arcs 2000 c. p., all n., oil.	Little Rock, 210 full street arcs, 8 hours, c. \$3.15; alone.	Topeka, 184 full street arcs, 8 hours, c. \$2.70; alone.
Labor . . . .	\$24.00	\$20.00	\$31.00	\$21.00	\$34.00
Fuel . . . .	-	12.00	29.75	13.00	23.00
Repairs . . . .	-	*	3.25	*	8.00
Materials . . . .	3.50	13.50	4.00	6.66	7.00
Sundries . . . .	7.00	7.00	-	1.33	2.25
	\$34.50	\$52.50	\$68.00	\$42.00	\$74.25

\* Repairs included in other items.

Anderson, Ind., has a street plant with 150 full arcs run all night and natural gas for power; expenses per arc \$23 for labor, \$1.50 fuel, \$10 supplies—\$34.50 total.

	Bay City, 181 full street arcs, 7 hours, c. \$1.95; alone.	Aurora, 200 full street arcs, 6½ hours, c. \$1.60; W. W.	St. Joseph, 253 full street arcs, 8 hours, c. \$1.65.	Fairfield, 16 full street arcs, 6½ hours, c. \$2.30.	So. Norwalk, 98 street arcs, av. 1400 c. p., 7 hours, c. \$3.65.
Labor . . . .	\$24.00	\$28.50	\$27.50	\$26.00	\$24.50
Fuel . . . .	12.00	16.50	14.75	33.00	11.00
Repairs . . . .	7.00	*	1.14½	6.00	1.11½
Materials . . . .	5.00	5.33½	4.25	2.00	5.00
Sundries . . . .	2.00	3.25	4.50	3.00	.75
	\$50.00	\$53.50	\$52.14½	\$70.00	\$42.36½

\* Repairs included in labor and materials.

In South Norwalk the fuel is one part cinders to two parts coal—cinders 66 cents a ton, coal about \$3.65 a ton.

*Group B.—Mixed Plants, Arc and Incandescent.*

	Braintree Commercial Plant. 118 street arc equivalent of 1200 c. p., 6½ hours, c. \$3.05 2642 inc. 409 full-arc equiv- alents total.	Peabody Commercial Plant. 151 street arcs 1200 c. p., 9.8 hours, c. \$3.30 1200 (est.) 16 c. p., 250 full- arc equivalent in use.	Swanton Commercial Plant. 21 full arcs, all n., moon, 3 arcs on pay and 1650 inc., 232 full-arc equivalents total; water power.	New York City Plants in 1890. 1880 single carbon lamps, 2039 double carbon lamps, 123,204 inc. 16 c. p. equivalent total; c. av. \$3.	New York State outside city, 1890. 6066 single carbon, 8949 double carbon, 163,731 incandescent 16 c. p. equivalent total; c. av. \$2.50.
Labor . . . .	\$8.00	\$20.00	\$4.33½	\$34.50	\$19.50
Coal . . . .	5.75	10.50	—	8.75	9.50
Repairs . . . .	2.75	2.25	1.50	2.50	3.00
Materials . . . .	1.25	3.25	.33½	9.00	8.00
Sundries . . . .	1.33½	2.80	2.00	20.00	5.00
	\$19.08½	\$38.90	\$8.16½	\$74.75	\$45.00

The table gives the average cost of each item per full-arc equivalent in use. In Peabody the superintendent figures the cost of a 1,200-c.-p. arc to be \$54, and \$1.58 per year for one of their 16-c.-p. lamps, or \$2.46 total cost, depreciation, interest and all. In Braintree the cost is \$47.50 per arc and 75 cents per 16-c.-p. lamp, operating expenses, \$69.55 and \$1.29 respectively, for total cost, interest, depreciation, and all. The average time of burning the incandescents is very small.

The averages for New York are taken from the Foote Census. For the city the "materials" item includes 80 cents per arc-equivalent for water, 75 cents in the state outside the city, and the "sundries" includes \$1.40 per arc-equivalent for insurance in the city, and 90 cents per arc-equivalent outside. One-ninth of the total income outside the city was received by water-power plants, and one-tenth of the total expense was theirs. If we suppose them to have had one-ninth of the lamps, the total cost per full-arc equivalent in the steam plants would be a little less than \$45.50; that was in 1890—it should be lower now.

	Allegheny. 620 full street arcs, all n., c. 95 cts.; 3000 incandescent in service at all times, 995 full-arc equiv- alents total lampage in use.	Madison Commercial Plant. 411 street lamps, 30 c. p., 8 h., 2566 in- candescent, total 3388 incd. 16 c. p. equivs. av. 3½ hours, (est.) c. \$3.50.	Farmville. 25 full street arcs, 6 hours, and 1200 in- candescent, 166 full arc equivalents in use; c. \$3.40.	Gaillon. 72 full street arcs, all n., moon, 600 in- candescent, 147 full-arc equivalents; c. —	St. Clairsville. 30 full street arcs, 9 hours, 600 incandes- cent, 105 full- arc equivalent lamps; c. 60cts.
Labor . . . .	\$27.00	\$1.30	\$10.00	\$11.25	\$9.25
Fuel . . . .	10.50	.87	7.25	14.75	3.75
Repairs . . . .	4.75	.13	2.00	.33½	—
Materials . . . .	5.00	.19	4.75	1.75	4.00
Sundries . . . .	3.00	.18	—	8.00	.75
	\$50.25	\$2.67	\$24.00	\$36.00	\$17.75

The cost of each item is given for a full-arc equivalent, except in the Madison column, where the rates refer to a 16-c.-p. incandescent equivalent.



In order to understand electric production it is very necessary to study the efficiency of fuel as affected by the character of the fuel used, the volume of the output, the hours of run, etc. The following tables will throw some light on the subject:

TABLE XXV.  
THE EFFICIENCY OF FUEL.

KIND OF COAL.	Total watt hours of station output.	Hours of Daily run.	Watt hours per pound of coal.
Hard Screenings . . . . .	7,971,000	24	208
Hard Rice . . . . .	2,431,680	24	152
Buckwheat . . . . .	734,000	15	170
Buckwheat . . . . .	1,248,000	15	192
Buckwheat . . . . .	990,000	15	110
Buckwheat . . . . .	377,000	14½	90
Buckwheat . . . . .	552,550	13	92
Pea . . . . .	284,600	8	143
Pea . . . . .	110,880	6	110
Lehigh Pea . . . . .	312,666	14	109
Lehigh Pea . . . . .	91,368	6	65
Indiana Block . . . . .	259,600	24	166
Indiana Block . . . . .	2,090,000	9½	53
Soft Coal . . . . .	2,280,900	24	186
Soft Coal . . . . .	535,596	15	88
Soft Coal . . . . .	135,000	9	56
Soft Coal . . . . .	293,012	8	98
Soft Coal . . . . .	59,500	7	30
Slack . . . . .	1,609,070	24	150
Slack . . . . .	386,385	14	103
Slack . . . . .	315,360	14	46
Slack . . . . .	152,000	8	108
Slack . . . . .	401,249	6½	73
Slack . . . . .	361,800	6	45
Slack . . . . .	72,800	5	40

These data are taken from a report made by a committee of electricians to the National Electric Light Association, February 29, 1894. They show very clearly the powerful saving effect of density—the longer the run and the larger the output, the greater the power obtained from a pound of coal. Variations in the quality of machinery and construction sometimes obscure the relation between density and economy, but taking the table as a whole, it is abundantly clear that a large output and continuous load enable a station to get 2, 3, 4, and sometimes more than four times as much electric service from a pound of the same coal as can be secured in a station with a small output, and 6- or 7-hour run. In the case of soft coal, the range is from 30 watts per pound with small output and 7-hour run, to 186 watts per pound with large output and 24-hour run—a sixfold efficiency. It is possible that the coals designated as "soft" in the committee's report may not have been of exactly the same steam-producing power; but it is safe upon the entire report to say that a large commercial plant can get at least twice as much service out of its fuel as a street plant, running only at night, and at least three times as much as a small street plant, running only till midnight or on the moon schedule.

A very interesting account of investigations respecting the use of coal, by the Edison Company of Boston, was read before the Boston Society of Civil Engineers, a few months ago, by Mr. R. S. Hale. The experiments show that, in the selected station, the coal used = 500 pounds per hour + 7½ pounds per K. W. hour; that is, 500 pounds of coal is lost every hour—400 pounds in the heat that goes up the chimney, and radiates from boilers, 33 pounds in radiation from steam pipes, and 67 pounds in steam leaks, and this loss is substantially constant during the run, whether the load be large or small. In another Edison station about three times as large as the former, the constant loss was found to be about 1750 pounds per hour, and the net rate about 6.8 pounds per K. W. hour. Seven and a half pounds of coal per kilowatt hour means 40 pounds to an all-night arc, or 6½ tons per all-night full-arc equivalent per year,—4.4 tons per year for an 8-hour arc, and 3.85 tons for a 7-hour arc, and 3.3 tons for a 6-hour arc. To this must be added each arc's share of the constant loss, which would be as follows:

TABLE XXVI.

## THE LOSS OF FUEL.

HOURS OF RUN.	Proportion of out-put to capacity.	Loss per K. W. hour in lbs. of coal.	Loss per full-arc hour in lbs. of coal.	Loss of coal per arc year in gross tons.	Tons transformed into work per arc year.	Total tons coal per arc year.
24	full cap.	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$ -	.45	6.5	6.95
24	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$ -	.9	6.5	7.4
24	$\frac{3}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$	.7+	1.35	6.5	7.85
24	$\frac{1}{4}$	2	1.-	1.80	6.5	8.30
12	full	.63	.3	.6	6.5	7.1
12	$\frac{1}{2}$	1.25	.6	1.2	6.5	7.7
12	$\frac{3}{4}$	1.89	.9	1.8	6.5	8.3
12	$\frac{1}{4}$	2.52	1.2	2.4	6.5	8.9
6	full	.75	.36	.35	3.3	3.65
6	$\frac{1}{2}$	1.50	.72	.7	3.3	4.00
6	$\frac{3}{4}$	2.25	1.08	1.05	3.3	4.35
6	$\frac{1}{4}$	3.00	1.44	1.40	3.3	4.70

In estimating the loss for daily runs of 6, 8, and 12 hours, I have considered the loss between runs as equal to three hours loss during the run. The boiler fires have to be started on the up grade about two hours before turning on the lights in an ordinary street plant, and it takes about the same time to cool down to the day level after the lights are turned off. The average loss on each two-hour slope from the dead level to the running level is about equal to one-hour's loss when at the running level and another hour will cover the loss in the dead level, when the fires are banked for slumber.

The Easton plant runs 360 horse of boilers and a 200-horse engine all night. As 740 watts are the equivalent of one horse, and 1,000 watts make a kilowatt, the Easton plant may be regarded for the purposes of this calculation as about one-eighth the size of the Boston Edison station, which was the subject of the above-mentioned experiments. At the ratios indicated by those experiments, the loss in Easton is eight pounds per arc per day, or one and one-third tons gross a year. In Chicago, the loss is about six and three-quarters pounds per arc per day, or about one and one-tenth tons a year. Adding the coal turned into energy, at the Boston rate, would give 7.83 tons a year for Easton, and 7.43 tons for Chicago, if their plants were like the Boston stations. In fact, however, Easton and Chicago each use 11 tons gross per arc year. The difference of three and one-half tons is due partly to differences in the quality of coal, and partly to differences in the economic qualities of the plants. The Boston plants compel one pound of coal to evaporate ten pounds of water, while Chicago only gets seven pounds of steam to one pound of coal, and Easton seven and a half.

The reader is now in a position to appreciate the significance of the following data in further illustration of the efficiency of fuel. West Troy, Little Rock, and South Norwalk show fine results—the first two better those of the Boston stations. They run 12, 8, and 7 hours, respectively, with loads well up toward three-quarters of the steam-plant capacity. Chicago does not use half her steam capacity, and Easton less than a third. Fairfield, with a very diminutive load, a fraction of the steam capacity, and a short run shows the largest use of fuel per arc.

Taking labor and all into account, the high-grade coals are the most economical. As to the fuel account, much depends on having boiler settings and grates adapted to the sort of coal used. If this is done, the cost of fuel is nearly the same with a low-grade coal as with a high-grade article—the lower the grade, the more coal is used (see Buckley, p. 12, and contrast South Evanston with La Salle, Peabody with Allegheny, etc.).

In South Norwalk, a considerable saving has been effected by the use of cinders, bought from the railways at 66 cents a ton, and mixed with good, soft coal, at \$3.50 to \$3.75 a ton. I quote from the town commissioners' report for 1894, p. 15: "The item of fuel is one of the heaviest expenses of a steam electric generating plant, and every possible method is employed to get the greatest amount of work from the smallest outlay in coal. The means which has been adopted, with this end in view, consists of mixing locomotive sparks with first-class bituminous coal, in quantities of one part sparks to two parts coal, which produces a fine composite fuel that burns readily in the furnace. These sparks, which heretofore were supposed to have no other function than to get in the eyes of unfortunate passengers, are particles of coke which are collected in the smoke arch of locomotives. They are bought from the railroads in car loads at very low rates (\$6 a 3-ton car load), and by their use the cost of coal is greatly reduced."

TABLE XXVII.  
THE EFFICIENCY OF FUEL (continued).

## Group A.—Street Plants.

	Tons of coal used per lamp per year.	Cost per ton.	Fuel cost per lamp year.	Watt hours per lb. of coal.	Lampage.
Chicago . . . .	11+	\$2.50	\$28.00	80	1110 full arcs all n.
Easton . . . .	11	3.00	33.00	90	122 full arcs all n.
West Troy . . .	6½+	3 15	20.00	140	115 full arcs all n.
Dunkirk . . . .	8½	2.00	16.50	100	75 full arcs all n.
Little Rock . . .	4½	3.15	13.00	148	210 full arcs 8 h.
Topeka . . . .	8½	2.70	23.00	71	184 full arcs 8 h.
St. Joseph . . .	9	1.65	14.75	68	253 full arcs 8 h.
Bay City . . . .	6½	1.95	12.00	96	181 full arcs 7 h.
Aurora . . . .	10½	1.60	16.50	48	200 full arcs 6½ h.
Fairfield . . . .	14½	2.30	33.00	38	16 full arcs 6½ h.
S. Evanston . . .	6½	2 65	17.50	30	64 full arcs 6 h.
La Salle . . . .	19	.75 slack	14.25	32½	93 full arcs all n. 10.00
S. Norwalk . . .	3+	3.65	11.00	113	95 arcs 1400 c.-p. 7 h.

## Group B.—Mixed Plants.

	Tons of coal used per year per full- arc equiv- alent of lampage.	Cost of coal per ton.	Yearly fuel cost per full- arc equiv- alent of lampage.	Lamps in use.
Braintree . . . .	1½	\$3.05	\$5.75	118 sub arcs 6½ h.+2642 inc. 16 c. p.
Peabody . . . .	3½	3.30	10.50	151 sub arcs 9½ h.+1290 inc. (c-t.)
Allegheny . . . .	11	.95	10.50	620 full arcs all n.+3000 inc. 16 c. p., in service at all hours
Farmville . . . .	2½	3.40	7.25	25 full arcs 6 h.+1200 inc. 16 c. p.
Westfield . . . .	1½	2.00	3.75	60 full arcs 8 h.+400 inc. 16 c. p.
Quakertown . . .	2½	2.50	6.50	40 sub arcs 6.3 h.+1200 inc. 16 c. p.
Indianola . . . .	10½	1.25	13.50	44 sub arcs 6 h.+600 inc. 16 c. p.
Wellston, O. . . .	5	1.00	5.00	58 sub arcs 6 h.+1000 inc. 16 c. p.
Madison, Ga. . . .	9½	2.90	28.00	40 full arcs 8½ h.+300 inc. 16 c. p.
Clyde, O. . . .	6½	2.45	13.00	61 full arcs 5 h.+550 inc. 16 c. p.
	Tons per 16 c. p. eq.		Cost per 16 c. p. eq.	
Leon, Ia. . . .	2	\$1.85	\$3.60	44 inc. 32 c. p. 6 h.+350 inc. 16 c. p.
Chariton, Ia. . . .	1+	1.60	1.65	100 inc. 32 c. p. 7 h.+1150 inc. 16 c. p.
Atlantic, Ia. . . .	1½	1.50	.85	155 inc. 32 c. p. 5 h.+3000 inc. 16 c. p.

## Group C.—Private Plants.

	Tons of coal used yearly per full-arc equivalent.	Cost per ton.	Fuel cost per year per full-arc equivalent of lampage.	Lampage.
Boston E. L. Co. .	3½	\$3.00	\$12.50	1590 full arcs all n., 1592 com. full arcs, and 25,000 inc. 16 c. p.
Cambridge . . . .	3½	3.60	12.00	461 sub arcs all n., 47 com. sub arcs, and 8785 inc. 16 c. p.
Edison (Boston) .	2½	3.60	7.50	800 com. arcs+84331 inc. 16 c. p.

## Group D.—Natural Gas. Public Plants.

	Lampage.	Yearly fuel cost per full-arc equivalent.	Remarks.
Marietta, O. . . .	110 full street arcs 9½ h.	\$8.25	Plant pays \$75 mo. for gas.
Blufftown, Ind. . .	85 full street arcs 6 h.	14.00	Plant pays \$100 mo. for gas.
Anderson, Ind. . .	150 full street arcs all n.	1.50	
Newcastle, Ind. }	60 full street arcs 8 h., and 1000 inc.	1.60	Plant owns the gas wells—only cost is interest on investment and repairs.

It is interesting to note the cost of light per lamp-hour, because the companies frequently make a lamp-hour rate the basis of all their charges. Care must be exercised, however, in using the hour rates for purposes of comparison; it is not a uniform rate per hour—6 hours two-tenths of a cent, 12 hours four-tenths—it is more like 6 hours 10 cents, 12 hours 12 cents. The time of burning materially changes the rate per hour; so does many another difference between plant and plant, wherefore it will not do to draw conclusions by comparing the hourly cost until due allowance is made for all differences of condition. The question is not whether the cost per lamp-hour in B is the same or more or less than the hour-cost in W, but whether, considering all the factors of production in B, the lamp-hour rate is more than it should be.

TABLE XXVIII.  
OPERATING COST PER LAMP HOUR.

	Full arcs run.	Cost per lamp hour in cents.		Full arcs run.	Cost per lamp hour in cents.		
Chicago . . . . .	all night	2.44	Little Rock . . . .	8 hours	1.33		
Easton . . . . .	all night	2.15	Topeka . . . . .	8 hours	2.98		
Wheeling . . . . .	all night	1.62	St. Joseph . . . .	8 hours	1.45		
West Troy . . . .	all night	1.52	Bay City . . . . .	7 hours	1.96		
Dunkirk . . . . .	all night	1.15	Aurora . . . . .	6½ hours	2.75		
Painesville . . . .	all night	1.55	Marshalltown . . .	5 hours	.96		
	Lamps.	Hours.		Lamps.	Hours.		
S. Norwalk . . . .	1500 c.p.	7	2	Madison, N. J. . .	16 c. p.	3½	.2
Danvers . . . . .	1500	5.7	2.38	Hope, Ark. . . .	16 c. p.	-	.23
Hudson . . . . .	1209	6	1.36	Falls City, Neb. .	16 c. p.	-	.23

With water power Bangor runs full arcs all night for .95 of a cent per lamp hour. Anderson with natural gas runs all night arcs for .85 of a cent per lamp hour; and if Rosewater's statement of the hours of service in Chariton is accurate, the cost of a 16 c. p. lamp in that place is below .1 of a cent per hour (see Table XX, Group D).

The important relation between length of run and cost per hour is obscured in the above data by the perturbations due to differences in cost and quality of fuel, character of construction, etc.; the said relation appears more clearly in the following statement from Buckley's "Electric Lighting Plants":

TABLE XXVIII A.

Lamps.	Hours burned per day.	Cost per lamp hour in cents.	Cost per night in cents.	Cost per month.	Cost per lamp year.	Page of Buckley.
2000 c.-p. . .	12	1.68	20+	\$6.05	\$73.50	114
	10	2	20	6.60	72.00	84
	8	2.35	18.75	6.80	67.00	84
	6	2.75	16.5	5.00	60.00	84
	4	3.5	14	4.20	50.50	84
	1	8.5	8.5	2.55	30.50	84
	$\frac{1}{2}$	16	8	2.40	28.75	84
1200 c.-p. . .	12	1.48	17.9	5.37	64.50	*
	10	1.75	17.5	6.25	63.00	84
	6	2.25	13.5	4.05	48.50	84
	5	2.4	12.5	3.75	45.00	84
	1	7.25	7.25	2.22	26.50	84
	$\frac{1}{2}$	14	7	2.10	25.50	84
16 c.-p. . .	12	.19	2.3	.70	8.40	*
	10	.22	2.2	.66	8.00	84
	6	.28	1.65	.50	6.00	84
	$\frac{3}{4}$	.35	1.25	.37	4.44	114
	1	1.12	1.12	.33+	4.00	84
	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	1	.30	3.65	84

\* Not stated by Buckley but carefully estimated from his data.

The items taken from p. 114 relate to a 3,000-light incandescent plant, operating an average of 12 hours a day. In such a plant Mr. Buckley says the cost of a 16-c.-p. lamp burning three and one-half hours a day is .35 of a cent, per hour, and for a 2,000 c.-p. lamp 1.68 cents an hour. The data of p. 84 are averages covering the results of many stations. The figure for 12-hour 2,000-c.-p. service corresponding to the averages from p. 84 for 6, 8, and 10 hours would be \$75.50 instead of the \$73.50 rate belonging to the large plant described on p. 114.

These rates of Buckley's are above the present cost in any but the least economical plants, as a reference to our data at the beginning of this table will show, and electrical experts with whom I have discussed the Buckley data say that they are several years old and represent the cost reported by private companies and are altogether too high; nevertheless they show with clearness and illustrate with substantial accuracy the important ratio between hours of operation and cost per hour. To run a lamp 10 hours does not cost 10 times as much as to run it one hour, but only twice as much in the case of incandescents and two and one-half times as much in the case of arcs. The standard all-night 2,000-c.-p. lamp does not cost twice as much as the midnight service, but only about one-fifth more according to Buckley's data, less than one-fifth more according to the experience of Painesville, O., which ran 5-hour arcs for \$44.25 a year and now runs all night arcs at an additional cost of \$8.25; about one-sixth more according to the rates made by some of the Massachusetts companies—for example, Worcester charges \$1.75 per month for an incandescent lamp to midnight and \$2 for an all-night lamp, one-sixth more for all night. The same company charges for an arc 40 cents a night to 9 P. M., 50 cents to 11, and 60 cents all night, indicating about one-sixth addition from midnight to all night. Northampton charges \$13 to midnight and \$15 all night for the same lamp—an addition of less than one-sixth. Station experts tell me that adding one-sixth to the cost of midnight service in a good-sized plant will give substantially the cost of all-night service in the same plant; one-fifth will be nearer right for a small plant, and special circumstances may raise the necessary addition somewhat higher yet.

The most important conclusions the committee has derived from the data of Tables XX to XXVII, and the studies suggested by them, are as follows:

1. With anthracite, pea, high-grade bituminous, or other coal of equivalent steam power, at \$3 a ton, labor at ordinary rates and one shift, fair management and materials at present prices, a good steam street plant, running at or near full capacity, can operate all-night arcs of 2,000 c.-p. for

16½ cents a night, or \$60 a year, which, with the limit rate of fixed charges in a plant of good construction and reasonable size, gives a total cost of production not exceeding \$75 a year.

The whole body of data sustain this statement, and indicate that \$60 is a liberal figure, under the specified conditions, for the operating cost, including water and all items not covered by the fixed charges as we have defined them. Take West Troy, for example, 115 full arcs, 12 to 15 hours daily, coal \$3.15, no combination with other works, cost per arc \$61 a year. Little Rock, eight hour arcs, coal \$3.15, cost per arc \$42 a year. Adding one-ninth to get the cost of all-night service in the Little Rock plant (see Table XXVIII and comments) we have \$47 per all-night arc per year. Chicago, corrected to the ordinary conditions as to labor, gives \$61 a year per arc (see note to Table X). Painesville, all-night arcs \$52.50, coal \$2.10; adding \$5 (see \$1, note to page 124 June ARENA) we have \$57.50 for operating all-night arcs, with coal at \$3. Take North East, Pa., and add one-fifth for time as per Table XXVIII A, and we have \$60 for all-night arcs, coal at \$3. Take Fredonia, N. Y., add one-seventh for time, as per table, and \$5 for coal, and we have \$61 for an all-night arc, with coal at \$3. See also Elgin, Bowling Green, Martinsville, Columbus, and many other places, which point to the same conclusion, when corrected to the specified conditions.

It is true that some plants show a higher cost. Topeka, for example, gives \$74 for 8-hour arcs. The reason, as I am informed by experts of the highest authority who have visited the city, is that Topeka was swindled in the construction of her electric system, and has a very poor, uneconomical plant. Easton is another place that shows a high rate, but, as we have shown, it is due to the facts that the lamps are much above 2000 c. p. and that the plant is run far short of its capacity.

We have seen in this section and the last, that there is reason to believe that the returns of operating cost, in many cases, include new values, sufficient to offset depreciation, but, waiving this in order to be perfectly sure of not coming too low in our calculations, we will take the \$75 total indicated by our data, when taken without allowance for the new values they include.

2. All-night arcs on the moon schedule, or 8-hour lamps, can be operated under the conditions above specified, at a yearly cost not exceeding \$53 per arc, or about one-ninth less than the all-night arc (see the ratios of Table XXVIII A and the direct proofs afforded by Little Rock, North East, Elgin, etc.).

3. The midnight arc costs about \$50 a year, under ordinary conditions, or about one-sixth less than the all-night arc (see Fredonia, Bay City, Painesville, Chambersburg, etc.).

4. The sub-arc, or 1,200 c.-p. lamp, can be operated for \$52 all night, \$47 moonlight, and \$43 till midnight, or about one-seventh less than the full arc of 2,000 c.-p. under similar conditions (see Table XX, Group C, etc., and ratios of Table XXVIII).

5. An incandescent 16 c.-p. can be operated at a cost of about \$6 to \$6½ a year all night, \$5½ to \$6 for moonlight, and \$5 to \$5.50 for midnight, or about one-tenth to one-ninth the cost of a full arc (see Fulda, Group D, Table XX, and the ratios of Table XXVIII).

Repairs on an all-night arc, and carbons, cost from \$3 to \$6 a year, while a 16 c.-p., good for 600 hours, costs but 20 cents, or less than \$1.50 an all-night year, and even this does not enter the expense account of the plant, when the lamps are commercial, because the consumer must pay for re-



newals. Moreover, in practice, the lamps do not get always 480 and 60 watts, respectively. For example, the dynamo that runs the "Auditorium Circuit" at Ocean Grove, is a 60-kilowatt machine, but actually lights 1,100 lamps, so that each one gets but 55 watts at most. Sometimes the lamps receive 450 and 50 watts respectively, a proportion of 1 to 9, instead of 1 to 8 as in theory, and even when the theoretic relation is maintained, the cost is more than proportionally greater for the higher candle power.

6. If the electric plant is run in connection with the city water-works, a considerable saving may be effected. In Dunkirk a saving of \$10 per arc is thus secured. (Compare Dunkirk and West Troy in Table XXIV, allowing for the difference in cost of coal.) In this case the same engineers, firemen, and superintendent operate both plants. The same is true of Madison, Paris, La Salle, and many other places.

7. If the plant is commercial, and has a good day-load as well as a night-load, a further saving in the cost of production is obtained, and in fuel economy (see Tables XXV to XXVII), in economy of labor through the greater density of business, and in the smaller amount of repairs and depreciation per kilowatt of business. In a well-built commercial plant of good output, it is clear on principle that the cost of operating one all-night arc should fall considerably below the normal rate (\$60 a year) that obtains in non-commercial plants. Unlike the statistics of most of the street plants, the tables of commercial plants are not sufficiently complete for definite concrete proof. The hours of burning the commercial lamps are not reported, nor the watt hours of output; in many plants no record is kept of the output. This is a great mistake. The kilowatt hours of work, public and commercial, should be carefully noted in every station, and stated in public reports, and in the returns of private companies to state commissioners. The few cases in which the committee has succeeded in obtaining reliable data concerning the total output of commercial plants, confirm the deductions derived from the street plants.

In Westfield, N. Y., the public output for 1894 was 111,720 kilowatt hours, and the commercial 113,000 K. W. hours: 224,720 K. W. hours total, equivalent to about 110 all night 2,000-c.p. arcs. The total running expenses were \$5,000, or \$45 per standard arc, with coal at \$2 = \$50 per standard arc, with coal at \$3. The total expenses, interest (four per cent on five-sixths of the investment), depreciation, taxes, and all, figured \$6,000 or \$54+ per standard arc.

In Allegheny, Penn., the arc output was 1,183,123 K. W. hours, and the incandescent, 444,500 K. W. hours, a total of 1,627,623 K. W. hours, giving \$60 running expenses per standard arc equivalent of output, and \$72 total cost, depreciation, taxes, and all.\* The cost is higher in Allegheny because labor is treated more generously there than in most places; ordinary labor gets one-fourth to one-half more than is paid for the same service by the Boston companies.

In Braintree, Mass., the public output is 94,880 K. W. hours, and the commercial 31,337, a total of 126,137 a year. A 1,200-c.p. arc, running an average of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hours a day, as in Braintree, takes about 800 K. W. hours a year, so the Braintree output is equivalent to 157 sub-arcs (1,200 c.p.) on  $6\frac{1}{2}$ -hour schedule. This gives \$48 running expense per arc equivalent and \$77 total cost, interest, depreciation, and all.

Quakertown, Penn., records a public output of 34,048 K. W. hours, commercial 33,385, and total 67,433; or \$43 operating cost per sub-arc (1,200 c.p.) on 7-hour time, and \$63 total cost, interest, depreciation, taxes, and all.

On the whole, the indications are that good management in a commercial plant of reasonable output should reduce the operating cost per standard arc to about \$50, and the total cost without interest to \$60 or \$65, with incandescent service at about \$5 operating expense, and \$6 or \$7 total cost per 16 c.p. With a *large* output, the figures should fall still lower, if labor remains at its usual level.

Some things about the private commercial plants in Table XXI are sorrowfully clear, and one of them fills the committee with such sadness that it cannot refrain from expressing its grief. The Boston Electric Company says that the production of each full-arc equivalent costs it \$60 a year, and that its total income is \$86 per said equivalent. Now, it claims \$405 investment for each full-arc unit, and Mr. H. A. Foster, a very high authority in the ranks of competitive electricians, says that  $13\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on the investment (6 per cent for interest, and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent for depreciation) must be added to the operating expense, to get the actual cost of production. Very well,  $13\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of \$405 is \$54.67; adding this to \$60 operating expenses, we have \$114.67, so that the Boston Electric Light Co. is losing \$28.67 on

\* The superintendent's separate estimate of the cost of the street arcs gives \$64 per arc for the operating cost, as we saw in §2. There is no real disagreement; the \$60 here found is the cost per standard-arc equivalent for the whole output, and the cost of a standard-arc equivalent in incandescent light does not equal the actual standard-arc service.

every 480 watts of lampage it operates, or \$180,620 a year, all told; and, all the time, the poor deluded company is declaring dividends under the impression that it is making money, instead of losing a fortune every year. And this is not the worst of it; the committee might possibly endure this in silent sorrow, but, when it turns out that every single Massachusetts company in Table XXI, except Chicopee, is losing money, and one company at the rate of \$460 a year on each arc equivalent, it becomes impossible to conceal the awful truth, or forbear to express the mingled grief and admiration felt by the committee for these down-trodden private companies, and their heroic nobility in continuing the business under such terrific losses.

8. The exclusive use of water power saves about one-sixth of the operating cost. Such is Buckley's statement, p. 17, and such is the result of the New York statistics, p. 264 of the Foote Census. Our data in Group F of Table XX point to about the same conclusion. Lewiston is almost exactly one-sixth lower than the rate ascertained above for a full arc on an all-night moon schedule; and the extra savings of \$6 in Ypsilanti, and \$10 in Bangor beyond the one-sixth reduction for water power are probably due to the economies of working the electric system in conjunction with the water works.

9. The conditions of production in Philadelphia are the same as those specified in the first conclusion, except that anthracite pea coal costs but \$2.75 delivered at the works, and that a street plant operating the city's 5,300 arcs would be a very large one, instead of merely moderate size. Both these differences are in the direction of economy, and there is not the slightest doubt that a public street plant could be operated at a cost not exceeding \$55 per arc year, with an investment not exceeding \$300 an arc, and a total cost of production (depreciation, taxes, insurance, and all) not exceeding \$70 an arc, thus saving to the taxpayers \$90 on every arc, \$477,000 a year, or \$1,300 a day, on their electric lighting bill.

Philadelphia is peculiarly fortunate in having corroborative evidence of the highest character. The subject was investigated last year by the city government. Mayor Stuart asked councils to make an appropriation for the purpose. Councils did not wish to do so, but they could not afford to ignore entirely a request behind which there was so much force of reason and public opinion, so they called for estimates of cost. Abram M. Beitler, director of public safety, referred the matter to Chief Walker of the Electric Bureau, who,

after carefully inspecting a number of good electric lighting plants, supplied the director and councils with detailed estimates for a 2,000-arc overhead plant, and a 400-arc underground plant. Councils appointed a committee of investigation, loaded with men interested in and acting for the private electric companies, so that even the chairman, instead of conducting the investigation in a judicial manner, personally instituted a determined attack upon Chief Walker and Director Beitler, and their recommendations, endeavored in every way to magnify the cost, and gave the closing discussion to Mr. Cowling, manager of a company a large part of whose business would be gone if he could not keep the city from making its own light, and who therefore testified that the cost of an arc light per year was \$146. The councils refused to make an appropriation, as of course they intended to do when they packed the committee with the enemies of the measure; and to justify their refusal, the ridiculous figures of Mr. Cowling and the chairman's nonsense were printed in pamphlet form and spread broadcast. *The chief's estimates were not put into this pamphlet*, but appear only in the Journal of Select Council already referred to. The chief's estimate of running cost for a 2,000-arc overhead plant is especially noteworthy, because of the high character of its source, and because of the fact that during the whole bombardment in committee, the agents and attorneys of the private companies were unable to find fault with any item given by the chief in this estimate. The fact is that like all the chief's estimates, it is above the truth. Figuring carbons and repairs at the Chicago rates, the estimate is as follows:

TABLE XXIX.

MAINTENANCE OF AN ELECTRIC LIGHT PLANT OF 2,000 FULL ARCS, OVERHEAD SYSTEM.

1 Superintendent	\$3,000.00
1 Engineer, \$4 a day	1,460.00
1 " 3 "	1,095.00
2 dynamo men, \$2 each a day	1,460.00
3 firemen \$2 " " "	2,190.00
2 oilers \$2 " " "	1,460.00
2 helpers \$1.50 " " "	1,095.00
1 foreman	1,200.00
8 inspectors at \$840 a year	6,720.00
10 linemen at \$720 " "	7,200.00
40 trimmers at \$2 a day	29,200.00
2 drivers at \$600 a year	1,200.00
30 tons of pea coal per day at \$2.75 = \$82.50 a day	30,112.50
Carbons	6,000.00
Oil waste and other mats at \$8.50 a day	2,920.00
Maintenance of 2 horses and 2 wagons	600.00
Repairs	14,500.00
Removal of ashes	1,000.00
Incidentals	5,000.00
Total	\$117,000.00

Yearly cost per arc, \$58.50

The chief figured the cost of this plant at \$318 an arc, and told the committee of councils that three per cent on three-fourths of the value of a good electric lighting plant would cover depreciation; adding this, and two per cent on the whole investment for taxes and insurance gives \$72 for the total cost of production in a Philadelphia street plant.\*

If the city would absorb the whole electric lighting business, the data given in this report show that the cost of production could easily be reduced to \$60, commercial light could be furnished at one-half the present rates, and the streets lighted free of expense to the taxpayers, saving to the people the whole \$850,000 that comes out of their pockets each year for electric street lights, and benefiting consumers at the same time (see §2 of this report). And if, in addition to this, the wires were put underground, and the labor fund were more evenly divided, not quite so much for the superintendent, and more for the firemen, oilers, linemen, etc., the city would begin to deserve its beautiful name, the "City of Brotherly Love," at least so far as its electric lighting affairs were concerned.

10. In Boston and vicinity the conditions of production are no less favorable than in Philadelphia, except about 90 cents a ton in the cost of coal, which would not make a difference of more than \$5 an arc, so that the operating cost in a Boston street plant of 2,000 arcs would certainly not exceed \$63 per arc year, and with the whole city lighting welded into one system, and coördinated with other city services, the running cost would in all probability fall to \$55 a year, with a total cost of \$65 to \$70, in place of the \$139 paid to the private companies now.

Other cities are in the same boat. Here is a very suggestive and instructive list:

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\* During the Philadelphia investigation Director Beltier told the committee that for the sake of cumulative evidence, he had taken the chief's figures to several gentlemen whom he knew to be trustworthy, and to whom he would go if he were embarking his own money in electric business, and they said the figures were substantially correct. The director added: "There is not a city, town, or village in this state that is paying over 35 cents per lamp per night, and Philadelphia pays 45." Mr. Robert Lerch, the experienced and wide-awake superintendent of the Easton plant, said to this committee: "If Philadelphia is not swindled on electric light, I don't know what swindling is—she pays double and more. With a good commercial public plant in Philadelphia, I would guarantee that the street lamps shouldn't cost the people a single cent of taxes."

TABLE XXX.

<i>Private Service.</i>			<i>Public Service.</i>		
	No. lamps.	Cost per year.		No. lamps.	Cost per year.
Boston . . . . .	1850	\$139.00	Braintree . . . .	112	\$67.00
New York . . . .	2625	146 to 182	Dunkirk . . . . .	75	59.25
Brooklyn . . . .	1528	146.00	Westfield . . . .	60	50.00
Philadelphia . . .	5300	160.00	Easton . . . . .	122	92.00
Washington . . . .	338	138.00	Alexandria, Va. . .	92	72.00
Harrisburg . . . .	348	85.00	Allegheny . . . .	620	74.00
Detroit . . . . .	1279	133.75	Bay City . . . . .	181	66.00
Louisville, Ky. . .	1074	87.50	Bowling Green . . .	72	66.00
Indianapolis . . .	750	85.00	Kendallville . . . .	43	36.00
St. Louis . . . . .	2200	75.00	Little Rock . . . .	210	55.00

The committee is not sure of the number of arcs in Brooklyn. They are 1,200 c.-p. and cost \$146 each per year, according to the letter sent me. The number as above is taken from the Senate Mis. Doc. 56, and relates to the year 1890—the lights are probably more numerous now. In all other cases, the lamps are 2,000 c.-p. or the rate has been reduced to that basis, so that, with the exception of Brooklyn, the prices represent the entire cost per full arc in all-night service the year round. The St. Louis Company has a total of more than 5,000 arcs, but only 2,200 are paid for by the city.\*

Two thoughts protrude from Table XXX: First, The more lamps the higher the charge, instead of the other way, as it ought to be. Second, The public plants do better than even the best contracts with private companies. Little Rock, with a little plant, and coal over \$1 more per ton,

\* No attention has been given in this report to the term of years covered by city contracts with private companies. Anyone who will examine Foote's Census of New York State or Senate Mis. Doc. 56, 2d Sess. 51st Cong., or the reports of the Massachusetts Light Commissioners will discover that the term of contract does not bear any definite relation to the price of light. For example, from Foote pp. 261-2, we have Syracuse, 300 standard arcs five-year contract \$144 per arc, c. \$2; New York, 488 same arcs, one-year contract \$127, c. \$3; Buffalo, 404 same arcs, one-year contract \$146, c. \$2; Albany, 519 standard arcs, five-year contract \$182.50, c. \$3.40, etc. The companies get as high a rate as they can whether the time is long or short. Even when spirited public officers try to put them in the press of competition by advertising for bids for long terms they have an understanding among themselves and make very little reduction of rates. In Washington, where this plan was put to vigorous test, only one of the companies made a difference of more than \$1 to \$2 a lamp even on a ten-year contract, and the company that made a larger difference had been receiving the enormous sum of 60 cents a night or \$219 a year per arc light. If a company feels that it is master of the situation it will not let its rates fall very much for the sake of a term—it is pretty sure of the term without the reduction. A year at a time with power to get a renewal each fall is as good as 10 years in a lump, and the company must keep its political power anyway or it may lose the whole cream of its business.

If a company is not quite sure of its hold on the future, it may be willing to make considerable discount to the city in consideration of being left free to squeeze its private customers. And a new company not yet enfranchised may consent to light the city streets at a really reasonable rate in consideration of gaining a foothold and receiving a charter right to put its claws into the pockets of the people—that was the way St. Louis got her fine contract. In reality a company should make a little reduction on a long contract because the cost of producing light is continually diminishing, and because they are guaranteed against loss of labor and materials in fitting lamps soon discontinued. The fact is, however, that there is no danger of discontinuance if the work is done properly and at reasonable rates; the only danger is a transfer to public ownership, which would be with full compensation for all real values. As a rule a city is not wise to make long contracts for electric light. Even the most public-spirited officers cannot persuade the companies to take less than the present cost plus a moderate profit, for the economies of the future are only expectations that may not be realized, and once the contract is made the present cost rules throughout the term. Whereas if a city makes a contract every year it can take advantage of any cheapening of production that may occur, so soon as its officers are able and willing to ascertain the fact; and if it takes the production into its own hands, all the benefits of increasing cheapness together with all the profits of the business will flow into its coffers.



nevertheless cuts \$20 off the St. Louis contract, taking depreciation and all into account. If Little Rock had a big commercial plant like that of the St. Louis Company, with 5,000 arcs and 30,000 incandescents, there can be no doubt that it would subtract at least another ten-dollar bill from the cost per arc year, and cut the St. Louis rate about in two.

It must be kept in mind that the street lamps are only a part and the smaller part of the electric question, and that the charges of private companies for commercial lights are frequently even more extortionate than their charges for public light. There are private companies that so far forget themselves and their privileges as to make very moderate rates, but in general they pay no attention to the cost of production or reasonable profits thereon, but mould their tariffs on that agreeable rule, which is fundamental in the political economy of monopoly—the rule that requires a corporation to charge all that the people will endure. Acting on this benevolent principle—charity begins at home, you know—the companies have fixed their rates by simply multiplying the cost of light by as large a digit as they dared. When we remember that the record of excessive charges for street lamps runs from 1.1 to 6 times, or 10 to 500 per cent excess, we may appreciate the significance of the fact that the companies are in the habit of fleecing private consumers more mercilessly even than their public patrons. Street lamps generally burn about twice as many hours in a year as private lamps, yet the companies reported in Brown's Directory make an average price to private consumers \$8 higher per arc than the average rate they make for street arcs. Not infrequently the difference is much greater: The Boston Electric Light Company, for example, asks the city \$135 for an all-night 2,000-candle-power arc, but requires its private customers to pay \$182 to \$328 per arc, and this in spite of the fact that few of these customers burn their lamps all night or even half of it. The public charge is oppressive—the private charge is oppression emphasized. The total cost of a street arc in Boston is not over \$70, and the cost of a commercial arc used on an average three hours a day is only about \$40 a year (see the ratios of Table XXVIII A, showing that the cost of three-hour service is a trifle more than half the cost of all-night service).

Boston is not alone in squeezing the private consumer of light; electric companies in all our cities have learned the art. In Worcester the company charges the city \$127 a year for an all-night arc, and private parties have to pay \$182.50 for the same lamp till 11 P. M. Springfield has re-

duced the company to \$75 per sub-arc all night, but the citizens are still compelled to pay \$146 per lamp though it may be burned but a few hours a night. Philadelphia pays \$160 a year for an arc, and many of her citizens pay more than that; 45 cents a night is the Brush Company's charge, whether the lamp be burned one hour or 12 in the twenty-four. Over half the receipts clear profits—no wonder Allen R. Foote says "The electric light business is the safest and best investment in the United States to-day."

If Philadelphia established a public commercial plant her people would save at least \$90 on every street arc, or \$1,300 a day on the public lighting bill, and more than \$100 on each private arc, of which there are many thousands, how many I do not know. In Chicago there are nearly 18,000 arcs aside from the city works, and 500,000 incandescents—a chance to save the people two millions and a half a year at a very conservative estimate on Chicago rates and conditions of production. In New York the Edison Company alone reports \$1,400,000 receipts, and \$789,000 profits. We have already seen in §2 that public ownership would save the people of Boston and vicinity at least \$800,000 a year, or half what they pay the electric light companies now, and the facts of this section indicate that the saving would be considerably more than half, as much more as the average of actual rates (running from \$135 to \$328 an arc) is above the \$40 to \$70 which represents the total cost of production of commercial arcs and street arcs in Boston under present conditions.

This section cannot be more fittingly closed than by quoting the words of the mayor and board of public works, in their report already referred to. As before remarked, they examined 120 cities, and secured careful estimates from electrical engineers. The conclusions of the committee on the facts before them, and the estimates of the electricians were as follows:

"1. That our city is now paying over 60 per cent more for her street lighting than she ought to do.\*

"2. The 55 cities doing their own lighting pronounced the same a complete success, and we have ascertained the average cost thereof per light per annum to be \$57.88.

"3. That cities lighted by private contract are paying on an average per light per annum \$114.58.†

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\*The city was paying \$158.30 per lamp.

† As before remarked, averages are to be received with caution until their component parts have been examined. See note 3 at the end of this report.

"4. The entire cost of building an electric plant for our city, with 350 lights, would not exceed \$75,000 (\$215 per arc) and the annual cost of maintaining such a plant in this city would not exceed \$50 per lamp per annum.

"In calculating the average cost per light, we have not taken into account the cost in cities where the plant is operated in connection with the waterworks, nor where the cities furnish commercial lights. Should the plant be operated in conjunction with the waterworks, we are informed by expert electricians that the cost of lighting would be greatly reduced. And should commercial lighting be added, the revenues therefrom would still further reduce expenses. A number of the cities have written letters to your committee, claiming that their street lighting costs practically nothing for the reason that the commercial lights more than pay the running expenses of the plant.

"The claim has been made to your committee by those interested in private lighting that it is only small cities and towns that are engaged in doing their own lighting. This statement we found to be incorrect. It is quite apparent that this argument is used for the sole purpose of discouraging this city from building her own lighting plant.

"Another objection raised by these persons is that politics dominate municipal governments, and therefore it would not be possible for a city the size of Evansville to do her own lighting as cheaply as it can be done by a private company.

"The experience of cities owning their own electric and gas plants is that the same can be maintained and operated far cheaper than it is done by private companies.

"Your committee has also ascertained that all plants, such as waterworks, street railways, lighting, and others necessarily requiring franchises from the public, should, in the opinion of the best thinkers of the age, who have studied municipal government, be owned by the public instead of by private corporations.

"One of the most serious mistakes now chargeable against all American cities of the present century is the reckless 'giving away' of valuable franchises of every description to private corporations and companies. Evansville, along with the balance of her sister cities, is now suffering from this kind of folly committed in the past.

"Your committee is of the opinion that a new contract for our street lighting could now be let for a much lower price than the present contract calls for, but we do not believe it to be for the best interest of the citizens of this city that her lighting should be done by private contract."

*(To be continued.)*

## HELL NO PART OF DIVINE REVELATION.

BY W. E. MANLEY.

שְׁאוֹל ḡōḡ, τάρταρος, γέεννα.

sheol, hades, tartaros, gehenna.

I. That the word *hell* is one of the strong pillars of the dogma of eternal punishment, no one can doubt. Is there good and substantial reason for the discussion of this dogma in the ARENA, showing its unreasonable and unscriptural character? This question will be answered differently by different persons, according as they have or have not experienced the baleful influence of the dogma in question, or witnessed its blighting effects on others near and dear to them. There will be no difference of opinion as to the slight hold this dogma has at the present time on the minds of Christian people, as compared with the past. But that thousands of good people still believe it, with faith enough to render them uneasy and unhappy, does not admit of doubt. Nor are these people so obscure or worthless as to be beyond the range of our sympathy or unworthy of our assistance. Though the dogma of endless woe seems to many people unreasonable, and as a foul blot on the character of God, there are many passages of Scripture that seem to teach the doctrine; and it is impossible, with their education and traditional reverence for the Bible, to settle down in a more comfortable belief, till these passages have been explained so as not to favor the unsavory dogma which they are supposed to teach.

Prominent among these passages are those that speak of hell. For some years after we had come to see the unreasonableness of the doctrine of never-ending punishment, the passages that had been urged in its favor stood in the way of a complete change of our opinion on this subject. Nor did we find entire satisfaction in respect to some of these texts, till, by a study of the original languages of the Bible, we settled the matter for ourself. Since that time not a doubt on this subject has obtruded itself on our mind for a single moment. The strongest desire we now have is to convince others, and lift a load from their minds which they ought no longer to carry.

If it be said that well-informed people, especially learned ministers, have now but little faith in this doctrine, and therefore there is no use in discussing and refuting it, we reply that thousands of good respectable people are *not* well informed on this subject; and the ministers who probably do not believe it are generally quite unwilling to say so to their people. And there never was a time when the mass of the people were so willing to read on this subject as at present; and therefore it is all-important that we give them the opportunity. Even now these people, on account of long cherished prejudices, will not read books and papers devoted to the discussion of this and kindred subjects. But when they meet with a paper in such a popular magazine as the ARENA, they will read it with delight, having no fears of any intention to deceive them.

We feel deeply on this subject, not only because the doctrine in question was once the occasion of much unhappiness to ourself, casting a blight over the best years of our youth, unfitting us for both study and work, and seriously threatening life; but sadder still, when in our childhood a beloved mother was brought to the grave in the most shocking manner by her faith in this dreadful doctrine. After five long and wretched years of wild insanity, she imagined herself in hell, and expressed great surprise that we did not see the flames about her! *She refused to eat*; and all the nourishment she took during the fifty days of her sickness, before death came to her relief, was four spoonfuls of liquid food. Any attempt to conceal the food by mixing it with the water she craved was in vain, as she utterly refused all such. Her screams at times were heart-rending. Her apparent suffering was indescribable; though she may have suffered less than she appeared to. These things occurred nearly seventy years ago; but they are as fresh in our memory as if they were of recent date. They have furnished us a strong motive to make all possible effort to remove from the church and the world the cause of all this misery. Awful as this case was, it was only one of a thousand, or rather of many thousands, that have been very similar.

In the early days of our ministry of sixty years, we were accustomed to deliver courses of lectures—sometimes ten and sometimes only five or six—on the word hell, tracing the word through the whole Bible; and if there is any one subject we understand better than all others, this is the one. If we shall deceive the reader, it will be intentional and not a mistake.

II. In discussing the subject of this paper, we begin by laying down the following proposition: *There is no term in the Hebrew or Greek Scriptures, which has the meaning of the English word hell.*

The uninformed reader will probably say that this is a bold proposition. He may think it as rash as it is bold. Of this he will be better able to judge after he has read what we have written on the subject. There have been times in the history of the Christian church, not many centuries in the past, when any one avowing his belief in such a proposition would have been delivered to the misnamed "holy inquisition," to pay for his temerity with his life. Let us rejoice that these times of superstition and barbarity are past, never to return.

When our late revision of the Bible was in progress, Canon Farrar (now Archdeacon and Dr. Farrar) said in substance as follows: "If the revisers do their whole duty, when their work is done our Bible will not contain the word *hell*, nor *damnation*, nor *everlasting punishment*." This covers the whole ground of our proposition, and something more. The revisers, it seems, have not done their whole duty, though they have gone a good way in that direction. *Damnation* is no longer seen; and *hell* does not so often greet the eye of the reader as it once did. *Everlasting punishment* has stepped out, and eternal punishment is found in its place—no great improvement. In view of the momentous importance of the subject, may we not expect the close attention of the reader from beginning to end. It is not possible to do justice to so vast a subject in a short article; and our paper must not be so long as to find a lodgment in the waste basket. This limitation makes it all the more necessary that what is written be read with care. We will do the best we can, and if we prove the proposition before us, as we expect to do to the satisfaction of all candid and intelligent minds, it will be an achievement at which all good men will rejoice.

There are four words in the Bible that are translated hell, though not uniformly so translated. One of these is a Hebrew word, *sheol*, and is found in the Old Testament sixty-five times. In the old version it is rendered thirty-one times *hell*, thirty-one times *grave*, and three times *pit*. In the revision it is rendered *hell* fifteen times, *grave* fifteen times, *pit* five times, and left untranslated thirty times. The revisers admit that the word does not mean *hell*, but say it is a place of departed spirits, good and bad, and must therefore embrace a hell and a paradise, though these places,



and the separation between them, are nowhere mentioned or alluded to in that part of the Bible. With the views the revisers had of sheol, it was manifestly improper to render the word either hell or grave. There was but one consistent course to take, and that was to give the original in every instance, as they have done in nearly half of them, and as the New Testament revisers have done with the corresponding word *hades*.

In passing we may remark that *Sheol* was the proper name of the first king of the Hebrew nation, and of him who became the apostle to the Gentiles, with some difference of pronunciation—a pretty good evidence that their respective parents did not attach to the word the meaning of hell, unless it had to them a more musical sound than it has to some of us.

The true meaning of sheol is *grave*; and the translators of the old version have given their sanction to this view, by so rendering the word in nearly half the instances in the ancient Scriptures; and if we add the three times it is rendered *pit*, often the synonym of grave, the rendering grave will be in the majority. Professor Stuart says the word should have been translated grave more times than it is; and only in five instances does he suppose that it denotes a place of future punishment. Is it likely that this term denotes a place of future suffering five times out of sixty-five, and in all the other places has some other meaning, generally grave? The idea is preposterous. The truth is that the translators, finding no word in the Hebrew Bible having the meaning of hell, gave this meaning to a word to which it did not belong, retaining its true meaning in most of the places where it is found. That the word ever denotes a place of departed spirits, as supposed by our late revisers, and still held by Dr. Briggs and others, probably never entered the minds of the old translators. And if it had, it would have been summarily set aside, from its supposed resemblance to the Roman Catholic purgatory.

That we may not extend this paper to an unreasonable length, instead of quoting each passage in full where sheol occurs, unless it is quite brief we will give the substance of each, with the chapter and verse, and such comments as will make the matter plain to the reader, presuming that the latter has a reasonable share of common sense.

1. *Sheol occurs seven times in the Pentateuch.* It is found four times in Genesis. Jacob says he will go down to sheol to his son Joseph, mourning. Three times it is said with reference to the same thing, that his gray hairs will be

brought down to sheol. This kind of language requires that sheol should mean the grave (see Gen. xxxvii: 35, xlii: 38, xliv: 29, 31). Again, Korah and his company were swallowed by the earth; and they, with their tents and goods, went down into sheol, the word being twice rendered *pit* (see Num. xvi: 30, 33). In a highly poetic passage, the anger of God is said to burn to the lowest sheol (or sheol below), and "consume the earth and her increase, and set on fire the foundations of the mountains" (Deut. xxxii: 22). In the mountain-side the Hebrews had their places of burial. The reference is wholly to this earth.

2. *Sheol occurs four times in Samuel and Kings.* "The Lord bringeth down to sheol and bringeth up," 1 Sam. ii: 6. There will be passages before long, which will show how the Lord bringeth up from sheol. In the next passage we have the "sorrows of sheol," which are such sorrows as would bring one to sheol or grave (2 Sam. xxii: 6). David is speaking of the snares his enemies laid for him, from which he barely escaped. David, being about to die, enjoins on Solomon not to let Joab go to sheol in peace, but to bring him to sheol with blood (1 Kings ii: 6, 9). Of course sheol is the grave.

3. *Sheol occurs eight times in Job.* People vanish away in sheol (vii: 9). The divine presence is high as heaven and deeper than sheol (xi: 18). Job prayed that God would hide him in sheol (xiv: 13). If he waited he would go there at last (xvii: 13). Sheol is in the dust (xvii: 16). It is here rendered *pit*. Wealthy men are liable to go down in a moment to sheol (xxi: 13). Sheol consumes its inmates (xxiv: 19). Sheol is the limit of our vision, but not of God's (xxvi: 6). The passage is obscure.

4. *Sheol occurs sixteen times in the Psalms.* There is no one to give God thanks in sheol (vi: 5). If this be true then sheol is not a place of spirits, good and bad, as Dr. Briggs and others suppose. Good spirits surely would give God thanks. "The wicked shall be turned into sheol" (ix: 17). This is the way a victorious army treats its fallen enemies; it turns them into the grave. Some of the Psalms of David are plainly war songs—such is the psalm that has the foregoing passage; they were sung or recited when the army was going into battle. These psalms were read with much enthusiasm on both sides in our civil war. Again, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in sheol; neither wilt thou suffer thine holy one to see corruption" (xvi: 10). *Soul* is the rendering of a word that quite as often has the sense of *life*. It has this meaning in the passage before us. Peter quotes

it on the day of Pentecost, and applies it to the resurrection of Christ from the tomb. God did not leave His life in the grave nor allow His body to see corruption. His resurrection was too soon for putrefaction to set in. The sorrows of sheol (xviii: 5) we have had before (2 Sam. xxii: 6), and the meaning was then given. To bring up the soul or life from sheol (xxx: 3) is to restore one from a dangerous illness or some other exposure to death. Again, sheol is a place of silence (xxxi: 17). Sometimes men are buried in sheol with as little feeling as we would bury a sheep. Death feeds on men (xlix: 14). Here sheol is found twice in one verse. God redeems the soul (life) from the power of sheol (xlix: 15). We have had two or three such passages.

David prayed that his enemies might go down quick (alive) into sheol (lv: 15)—into no worse place, probably, than the grave. The sense is expressed in the context, "God shall bring them down into the pit of destruction." David was delivered from the lowest sheol (lxxxvi: 13). Not the lowest sheol, but sheol below. He says, "Violent men have sought after my soul." No, not his soul, it was his life they were after, but they failed to get it. Again, David says, "My life draweth nigh unto sheol"—the same original word rendered about equally life and soul. No man can deliver his soul from sheol (lxxxix: 48). If this place is hell, all must go there. Often "his soul" means "himself."

The pains of sheol (cxvi: 3) and sorrows of sheol are the same. Such pains or sorrows got hold of David while he was on the earth. The same David said, "If I make my bed in sheol, thou [God] art there" (cxxxix: 8). Such a place was one of rest and sleep—of "sleep that knows no waking." David was too wise to think of making his bed where sleep was impossible. "Our bones are scattered at the mouth of sheol" (cxli: 7). This was often verified in the East, where graves are not protected against the ravages of wild beasts.

5. *Sheol occurs nine times in Proverbs.* "Let us swallow them up alive as sheol" (i: 12). This is the language of a robber, trying to persuade others to join him. As sheol swallows the dead, is the meaning probably. Of a bad woman we read, "Her feet go down to death; her steps take hold on sheol" (v: 5). This is an example of parallelism in Hebrew poetry, wherein *death* and *grave* are convertible terms. To give sheol the meaning of "hell," or "place of spirits," is to change sense into nonsense. "Her house is the way to sheol, going down to the chambers of death" (vii: 27), the same as the preceding. "He knoweth not that the

dead are there, and that her guests are in the depths of sheol" (ix:18), another example like the two preceding ones. By a figure of speech, prolepsis, these devotees of sensuality are regarded as being already, where they soon would be—dead and in the grave as the result of their evil practices.

God can look beyond death and sheol; how much more into the hearts of men? (xv: 11). "The way of life is above to the wise, that he may depart from sheol beneath" (xv: 24). By a wise practice one may long keep himself from death and the grave. The parent, by a judicious use of the rod, may save his son from premature death (xxiii: 14). "Sheol is never satisfied" (xxvii: 20, xxx: 16). Very true of the grave; and why need we go further?

6. *Sheol occurs twice in Ecclesiastes and Canticles.* "There is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in sheol" (Eccl. ix: 10). This is plain enough; sheol is not a place of suffering, nor a place of spirits. "Love is strong as death; jealousy is cruel as sheol" (Cant. viii:6). We know the grave is cruel; for it takes away our dear ones without our consent, and much against our will.

7. *Sheol occurs nine times in Isaiah.* In the poetic language of the prophet, sheol enlarges itself and opens its mouth to receive the rebellious people of Israel (v: 14). The word is rendered *hell*, but the revisers have put *grave* in the margin. The prophet addressing the king of Babylon says: "Sheol is moved to meet thee at thy coming. It stirreth up the dead for thee," etc. (xiv: 9, 11, 15). Verse 11 shows the meaning. "The worm is spread under thee, and the worms cover thee." Here sheol is twice *hell* and once *grave*. The people are said to have made a covenant with death and sheol, so that when the overflowing scourge should come, they would be safe. But they are admonished that their covenant with sheol shall be disannulled; and when the overflowing scourge should come, they would be trodden down by it (xxviii: 15, 18). Comment is unnecessary. "I shall go to the gates of sheol" (xxxviii: 10). These are the words of Hezekiah expecting soon to die. Sheol cannot praise thee (xxxviii: 18). Thou didst debase thyself even unto sheol (lvii: 9). Jesus compared the scribes and Pharisees to sepulchres full of all uncleanness; the foregoing is similar.

8. *Sheol occurs five times in Ezekiel.* Sheol is once rendered *grave* and twice *hell*, in the same passage (xxxi: 15-17). The inmates of sheol are those that were *slain with the sword*. They lie there. In xxxii: 22, 27, the slain had with

them their *weapons of war, with their swords under their heads*. This must satisfy the most sceptical.

9. *Sheol occurs five times in four different books*. "I will ransom them from the power of sheol. . . O sheol, I will be thy destruction" (Hos. xiii: 14). Whatever may be the meaning of the word, the place cannot be of endless duration. The wicked dig into sheol to escape punishment (Amos ix: 2). It is a literal fact that oriental tombs are resorted to by criminals, to conceal themselves from the officers of the law. But do men ever hide in hell, or a place of spirits, to escape punishment? Jonah says, "Out of the belly of sheol cried I unto the Lord" (Jon. ii: 2). Is sheol, then, the name of a great fish? No, but the fish was the grave of Jonah for the time being; such at least is the "story." The avaricious man enlarges his desires as sheol, and cannot be satisfied (Hab. ii: 5).

The foregoing are all the places where sheol occurs.

III. We will now bring before the reader the Greek word *hades*, having the same meaning as sheol in the Hebrew. That this term *has* the same meaning as sheol, is proved by the fact that, in the Greek version of the Old Testament, then in common use among Jews and Christians, *hades* is the rendering of sheol in almost every instance of its occurrence. The term *hades* is found ten times in the revised New Testament and eleven times in the old version.

10. *Hades occurs four times in the Gospels*. In two passages Capernaum is threatened with being brought down to *hades* (Matt. xi: 23, Luke x: 15). With the idea of *hades* now being adopted by the liberal portion of the orthodox church, that *hades* is a place of spirits good and bad, each in an appropriate department, Capernaum is as much threatened with paradise as with tartaros. But if *hades* has the meaning of grave, the destruction of Capernaum is all that is intended; and this is the actual fate that befell that city. It was so effectually blotted out that for ages even the site was unknown. Evidently this is what our Lord foretold. Again, Jesus says the gates of *hades* shall not prevail against the church (Matt. xvi: 18). This is the opposite of the fate of Capernaum—the church should not be destroyed, or become extinct. As a place of spirits, good as well as bad, how could *hades* be considered hostile to the church, as the words of Jesus imply? With the view that *hades* is a place of spirits, the passage reveals one circumstance which we should all be glad to believe. As *hades* is not to prevail against the church, it is a fair inference that the larger number are good spirits, notwithstanding the

poet's "narrow path, with here and there a traveller," on his way to paradise.

The rich man was buried in hades (Luke xvi: 22). This is the reading of the Vulgate, the Latin version; and if correct, hades has the sense of grave, like the other instances that have been quoted. At the same time the parable is based on the heathen views of hades, which were the same essentially as those of our late revisers and other liberal orthodox Christians. The Jews obtained them of their Gentile neighbors. *Not a single idea of this kind did they get from revelation.* For this reason the passage has nothing to do with our subject. Our discussion is concerning the Bible usage and not the heathen. That Jesus constructed a parable out of heathen ideas, then held by the Jews, or at least some of them, is no proof of the truth of those ideas, nor that He meant to give them His approval. Parables are employed to illustrate and enforce truth; but they need not themselves be true. Parables are made of fiction as well as of fact. A parable is generally made up for the occasion. The character of the parable of Dives and Lazarus does not permit us to use it as proof of future rewards and punishments; for these constitute the parable itself. Such a parable must represent something else—something having a resemblance to the parable, to be sure, but never the same. The context must show what the parable really means.

11. *Hades occurs twice in the Acts.* Peter on the day of Pentecost quoted from Ps. xvi: 10, and applied the passage to the resurrection of Christ. Nor does he hint that this resurrection was anything more than the restoration of His body to life, and His coming out of the tomb. The soul (life) of Christ was not left in hades, nor did His flesh see corruption (ii: 27, 31). The life of Jesus was not left in the grave, for He had it with Him when He came out. Nor did His body experience decay, for He was in the tomb only about thirty-six hours. That Jesus "descended into hades" is the reading of the prayer book. So far as this differs from the record, we must follow the example of Peter and John, and believe God rather than men.

12. *Hades occurs four times in the Revelation.* Jesus has the keys of hades and of death (i: 18). Jesus raised the dead, and He raised Lazarus after he had been buried. The reference may be to His own resurrection. He had power to lay down His life, and He had power to take it again. The revelator saw in a vision a pale horse, and the rider thereon was Death, and Hades followed *with* him (vi: 8).



The pale horse represents a pestilence; and when a pestilence prevails, deaths occur in rapid succession, and so does the burial of the dead. Hence the Grave follows, not *after* Death, but *with* it. The revelator describes a great judgment, when death and hades delivered up the dead which were in them; and were then cast into the lake of fire (xx: 13, 14. This was seen in vision, but doubtless it had an important meaning. It is of moment in the present discussion only as it relates to hades. One thing seems clear. It is that death and hades are cast into the lake of fire; and this is the last thing affirmed of them. The passage recalls the words of the prophet, "O sheol, I will be thy destruction."

IV. 13. Tartaros occurs once in the New Testament (2 Pet. ii: 4); and it is implied in the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus. The rich man was tormented in that part of hades called by the Greeks tartaros. But the Jews avoided the use of heathen terms, with the view of concealing the fact that they obtained their opinions from a heathen source. Jesus accommodated His words to their feelings on this subject. In 2 Pet. ii: 4, the word is *tartaros*, and is rendered *cast down to hell*. There is a reference to the Book of Enoch, an apocalyptic work, extant in the time of the apostles, and a book that exerted considerable influence on both Jews and Christians. Peter quotes from it in a hypothetical way, that does not commit him to the belief of what he quotes. A passage occurring but once, and in the manner here stated, need not occupy our time longer.

V. Leaving the word *gehenna* for another paper we will close the present discussion with some general observations, from which it will appear that hell is no part of divine revelation, unless the doctrine is contained in the word *gehenna*, yet to be considered.

1. It should be borne in mind that the translators of the old or authorized version, had but one word for the two renderings, *grave* and *hell*, and that the former was the sense of the term more often than the latter. It is as plain to us as anything well can be, that in the whole Hebrew Bible they could not find a word for the idea of hell. It is often affirmed by learned Hebrews that there is no such word in the Hebrew language, in the Bible or in any other book. This is confirmed by the revisers, who confess that sheol has no such meaning; and they name no other word in the Hebrew language to fill the place. Finding no word for hell, they made use of the word sheol, grave, and attached to that the desired meaning when the connection would not betray the fraud. The meaning of hell was not

in the word; but they could inject it, and then it would be there; and the Old Testament would not be obliged to bear the disgrace of having no hell. Th people, having no knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, and not doubting that the translators, of high standing in the church, were pious, good men, accepted the new version as an inestimable boon to the English people, as no doubt on the whole it is.

2. The revisers confess that hell is a wrong translation; but they have not altogether rejected this rendering, on the ground, we suppose, that sheol has a hell, as well as a paradise; though there is nothing to support this idea but their conjecture. When our friends die they go to sheol, but whether to paradise or to tartaros is all a matter of uncertainty. Evidently we shall need another revision. "It is only a question of time."

3. In more than half the places in which sheol occurs, it is said to be *down*, meaning in the earth. This no one believes of hell or a place of spirits. If the Bible is of any authority on a matter of this kind, why not accept its teachings concerning the location of sheol, as well as its existence? The New Testament is decisive in making the future residence of the soul *above*, and not *below*. Therefore sheol is not a place of spirits. (See John xiv: 1-3, xvii: 24, Acts i: 9, vii: 55, 59, 2 Cor. v: 1, xii: 2, 1 Thess. iv: 16, 17).

4. In a large number of instances, death and sheol are parallel terms in poetic language. Death and the grave are near enough alike to answer the purpose of the Hebrew poet, but neither of the other definitions of sheol comes within the rules of the art.

5. Many learned men, like Dr. George Campbell of Scotland, affirm confidently that the state of souls after death is not revealed in the Old Testament. The language of Dr. Campbell is that "The most profound silence is observed in respect to the state of the dead, their joys or sorrows, their happiness or misery." This is consistent with the meaning of sheol as the grave, but not with the other meanings.

6. It is proper to mention a peculiarity of the word under consideration. It denotes the grave in general, as the final resting-place of our mortal bodies; but never any particular burial place, where bodies are interred. As we have separate names for such localities, "burying ground," "cemetery," etc., so had the Hebrews. Jacob speaks in a general way of going down to sheol; but the grave in which his mortal remains were deposited, in the family vault at Hebron, is called *geber*.

7. The word sheol never has the term *everlasting*, or any other expressive of duration. An everlasting or eternal hell is found only in sermons or theological books.

8. Rev. Walter Balfour, a learned man from Scotland, came to this country many years ago as a missionary, to convert the heathen of New England. However, he became himself converted to a more liberal faith, and was the author of a number of valuable books, of which one of the most valuable was on the word *hell*. He found sheol in the Old Testament sixty-four times; and for more than fifty years that was given as the correct number. A few years ago, we ascertained that this number was not quite accurate. The true reckoning is sixty-five. Taking the figures as we have given them the true number will be seen, thus:  $7 + 4 + 8 + 16 + 9 + 2 + 9 + 5 + 5 = 65$ .

Hades:  $4 + 2 + 4 = 10$ . In the old version hades was found also in 1 Cor. xv: 55, "O hades, where is thy victory?" here rendered *grave*, but in every other passage, *hell*. The translators did not relish the idea that hell was to have no victory. The revisers have disposed of the difficulty more effectually, by dropping out the word, and putting *death* in its place. But, as the revelator speaks of a time when *there shall be no more death*, this must include the second death. It may be added that neither sheol nor hades is referred to a future state; and whenever the sorrows or pains of sheol are alluded to, the reference is to the present life. The parable, constructed of the heathen hades, is not to the point, as we have shown. The parable was fulfilled by temporal events.

We will conclude this paper with a brief anecdote, concerning Mr. Balfour and the matter we have had under consideration. After hearing a sermon on the horrors of hell, and being invited to add some remarks, all he said was, in his native brogue, "If ony mon wants to be domned, let him be domned."

## THE UNRIGHTEOUSNESS OF GOVERNMENT, AS VIEWED BY A PHILOSOPHICAL ANARCHIST.

BY CHARLES CLARK RODOLF, M. D.

Whoever applies to himself the term anarchist should add a definition, if he does not wish to be misjudged, for no word in the English language is more misused and misunderstood. Some of this misuse is viciously intentional, but most of it is the result of pure ignorance. It is less than half a dozen years since the public began to learn that anarchist, nihilist, and socialist are not synonymous; and even now the three words are more or less confounded in popular usage, though they agree in but one thing, namely, disapproval of present-day social institutions.

Few people have an accurate understanding of any of these words; and the ignorance of the public is scarcely more profound than that of many who include themselves in one or another of these classes. Many who call themselves anarchists are not anarchists at all. Some of them are really socialists, others nihilists; while numerous malcontents, who seem to have no definite purpose or plan, and who lack the brute courage of nihilists, the patient hopefulness of socialists, and the discriminating intelligence of anarchists, think they belong to any or all classes. Such mistakes, however, are not confined to anarchists, nihilists, and socialists, and do not change nor determine the meaning of the words. In the United States thousands of autocrats, aristocrats, and plutocrats call themselves democrats; but this does not make them such, and does not change the meaning of the word democrat.

Nihilist and socialist are diametrically opposite in meaning, and both are distinct from anarchist. The nihilist is the gloomiest sort of pessimist. He thinks present conditions very bad. He does not think they will become better through evolution. He is not at all sure they will become better under any circumstances. He has little faith in humanity. He is firmly convinced that present institutions are a bar to progress, and that society has all to gain and

nothing to lose by wiping them out completely and building from the foundation, regardless of what has been. He wishes, therefore, to annihilate the existing government, and cares little what measures are employed so long as they are prompt and effective. The nihilist is always destructive.

The socialist, on the contrary, is an optimist. He wishes to improve, not to destroy, the present social organization. He believes that human institutions are a reflex of human thought, and can be changed only by changing the individuals who make up society. His plan, therefore, is to reform present institutions by judicious pruning and cultivation. The socialist is always constructive.

The anarchist is distinct from both nihilist and socialist, though he may be either or neither; just as he may be a Jew or a gentile, a Christian or an infidel. Anarchist is derived from the Greek word *anarchia*, which in turn is made from *arche* with the negative prefix *an* (equivalent to English *un*). The following definitions are taken from Liddell and Scott's Greek lexicon:

Anarchia—Lack of a leader.

2. The state of a people without lawful government; lawlessness; anarchy.

Arche—Beginning; origin; first cause.

2. The first place or power; sovereignty; dominion.

It is easy to infer how the second meaning of *arche* grew out of the first. The earliest human rulers, all of whom were usurpers, sought to justify their usurpation by claiming that their authority was of divine origin, themselves the earthly deputies of the *arche* of the universe, their words the expression of his will. Just as among ignorant and superstitious people idols are always looked upon as the gods they are intended to represent, so the word *arche* came to be applied to the unscrupulous usurpers, and the original meaning was lost sight of.

This blasphemous assumption of divine authority, usually referred to as the "divine right of kings," has been vigorously asserted right down to the present time; and for thousands of years a reverence for human government has been so carefully impressed on the minds of people by those who think they profit from its continuance, that, while many reject the literal meaning of "divine right of kings," the spirit is retained, and the impression is almost universal that the Creator did so imperfect and incomplete a job when He made and peopled the earth that, if mortal man had not come to the rescue with his profound wisdom, God's

creation would have proved a dismal failure —“utopian,” “wouldn’t work,” because of the “imperfections of human nature”; while those who approve God’s work and think His laws sufficient without any supplementary man-made contrivances, are called anarchists (a word whose derivation would suggest haters of God rather than lovers), and are looked upon as dangerous people who need constant watching. All of which is but another way of saying that a portion of God’s imperfectly constructed creatures know more than He does, and should either show Him how to manage the remainder of humanity or manage them for Him; and that any who dare question the superior wisdom of these advisers and administrators of Deity should be sharply disciplined till they learn to be “content with the lot wherein it has pleased Almighty God to place them.”

The true anarchist, who may be styled the philosophical anarchist, believes that all human government is usurpation, tyranny, essentially wrong, an unjustifiable interference with individual liberty; that in the ideal society every person may freely do whatsoever he will, right or wrong, his own conscience and his desire for the love of others being the only restraining influences. A man’s opinions, not his acts, are the basis of his title to the name anarchist. The methods he advocates and employs to promote his ideal neither weaken nor strengthen his title. He may believe in popular education, and may favor and practise agitation through speaking and writing. He may advocate the immediate forcible overthrow of existing government, and may join the nihilists in a dynamite campaign. He may feel that time only can accomplish the work, and all effort on his part would avail little, and he may do nothing to bring about what he considers the ideal state of society. Any of the foregoing he may do and remain a true anarchist. The test of the philosophical anarchist is a belief that all human government is adverse to the peace and happiness of mankind, utterly incompatible with a high degree of individual and social development, an assumption of authority for which there is no basis of right.

Philosophical anarchists are the only persons justly entitled to the name anarchist; but popular usage extends the term to a very different class of individuals. Most people are deeply in love with the superstition called government; very sure that God did not finish His work, and that the human monstrosities blasphemously called laws are indispensable supplements and supports to the divine code; serenely confident that the same sinful human beings who



(they charge) will not be and do good if they can help it, will nevertheless display intense zeal in providing laws to compel themselves to be and do good. Indeed, they seem to consider human government the cause of all the progress the race has made, and indispensable to prevent a relapse into barbarism. Hence, popular opinion holds anarchy synonymous with confusion and strife, and the word anarchist is made to include all persons who, in contempt of existing laws, promote contention and disorder. With these persons, who may not inaptly be styled criminal anarchists, philosophical anarchists deem it no honor to be counted.

A man's acts determine whether or not he is entitled to be ranked with criminal anarchists. His opinions are of no consequence. A criminal anarchist is a person who boldly, openly, and flagrantly sets at defiance existing laws or encourages others to do so. It is immaterial whether the law is good or bad. Law is law; and whoever persistently sets at defiance a law promulgated by the supreme power of a state or municipality is a criminal anarchist. This by no means implies that every murderer and thief is a criminal anarchist. It is not enough that the act is unlawful and persistent. There must be an autocratic display of contempt and disregard for authority and public opinion calculated to promote in others a like contempt and disregard and to result, if continued, in a chaotic state of society. A few examples may serve to make the distinction clearer than any amount of explanation: The man who sells whiskey in a prohibition state, and the lawyer who aids him to escape the legal penalty provided for the offence; the banker or money-loaner who takes more than legal interest; the railroad manager who ignores the interstate commerce law; the mob which lynches a murderer; the president of the United States and the secretary of the treasury, when they ignored the law requiring the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion per month; the managers of the great trusts, and the attorney-general when he failed to prosecute them as commanded by the law he had sworn to uphold—all these are examples of criminal anarchists.

It will thus be seen that the criminal anarchist is the logical opposite of the philosophical anarchist. For while ready to trample under foot every law which might prevent the accomplishment of his personal ends, the criminal anarchist is the first man to resort to law when it will serve his purpose. His contempt is not for law, but for his fellow-men; and he does not mean that law or public opinion shall

defeat his selfish schemes. This is in striking contrast with the declaration of the philosophical anarchist that all law, good or bad, is equally an unrighteous interference with personal liberty.

A prevalent error nowadays is to apply the word anarchist indiscriminately as a term of reproach to anyone who is considered bad. This is a radical wrong against which even the whiskey-sellers and lawyers have good reason to protest. The test is legal, not moral. The man who upholds vicious laws with all his might may be a villain, but he is not an anarchist. The man who steals in strict conformity with a law framed for his special use may be a consummate scoundrel, but he is not an anarchist. He who boldly defies and resists bad laws may be a criminal anarchist, though brave, noble, and patriotic. John Hancock, Patrick Henry, Thomas Paine, George Washington, Samuel Adams, and all those illustrious heroes of revolutionary days may have been anarchists. If they were, the American people are not likely on that account to disown them.

Some months ago the press was regaling us almost daily with accounts of deeds of violence committed in the leading cities of Europe by men who both by themselves and others were styled anarchists. The accounts, however, showed that, while they may have been nihilists, they certainly were not philosophical anarchists. They seemed to be a lot of desperadoes bent upon doing all the harm they could, their hearts filled with hatred for everyone whose position gave the slightest ground for supposing that he was in part responsible for the real or fancied wrongs from which these wretches thought they were suffering. There was nothing in their actions to suggest that they were opposed to governments in general. The only reform they seemed to desire was that they should become the oppressors; or possibly they hoped, by intimidating those in authority, to secure certain desired legislation. Some, however, seemed to be impelled by even baser motives than those just given. Santo, the murderer of President Carnot, was no more an anarchist than Guiteau, who shot President Garfield. Personal hatred, revenge, and disappointed ambition were the forces which impelled these two murderers.

Having thus at some length stated what anarchists are and what they are not, it is now in order to show the grounds for the assertion that human governments have no right to exist. It would be proper first to reply to the arguments of the other side; but if any such arguments have ever been presented, they have certainly escaped my

attention. The fact is that men find government in force when they come into the world, accept it as a matter of course, and most of them are content to dismiss the subject with, "Governments always have been and always will be." To be sure, countless efforts have been made to show the superiority of certain forms of government; but all these discussions assume the propriety and necessity of human government of some sort. So there are no arguments to answer. My task would be easier if there were; there is nothing so hard to contend against as blind, unreasoning belief.

It would be superfluous to deny that kings have a divine right to rule. In this land of boasted freedom, no one believes in the "divine right of kings," and few (if any) would claim a divine source for the authority of presidents, congresses, legislatures, and courts. Americans have been too well drilled in the Declaration of Independence to forget that "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." They will not undertake to defend the tyrants of the old world, but will say that in our glorious republic the rulers are chosen by the people and derive their authority directly from them.

What a beautiful thought! what a grand thought! That is, it would be but for one defect: it is not true. Our rulers are not chosen by the people, though some of our rulers are chosen by some of the people. The president, United States senators, federal judges, and a host of other officers go into office by appointment, a process quite distinct from our elections. Nor are our elected officers chosen by the people, not even by a majority of the people. In the first place, a majority of the people are minors; then, of the adults, a majority are women; further, of the men, quite a considerable number are disqualified or sick or busy or away from home or deliberately stay away from the polls; and, finally, there are often so many candidates that no one receives a majority of the votes cast. So, to summarize, the best we can say of our grand popular government is that a portion of the rulers are chosen by a plurality of a majority of a minority of a minority—the successful candidates usually receiving the votes of from one-tenth to one-twentieth of their constituents.

It may be urged that the above criticisms are aimed at the methods rather than the principles of government; that it would be folly to allow a voice in the government to those who have not reached years of discretion; that we are extending the suffrage to women in many places and will ere

long wipe out that relic of barbarism which denies them equal rights with men; that persons of unsound mind could not vote intelligently; that it would be possible to so revise the method of casting and collecting the ballots as to permit every sick and busy man to vote; that certain safeguards are indispensable to a pure ballot; that those who deliberately stay away from the polls give tacit consent and approval; that a government by the majority we already have in theory and soon shall have in fact.

Let us briefly consider some of the foregoing points: If children, from lack of discretion, are not entitled to a voice in the selection of those who are to enact and enforce the laws, by what sort of logic are they held legally or morally responsible for the violation of those laws? and how do we harmonize the punishment of minors for violating laws in the making of which they had no voice with the principle that "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed"? In our treatment of insane and feeble-minded persons we are logical. We do not hold them responsible for their acts, and never punish them. Our sole thought is to protect them from harm through the acts of themselves or others. When our government shall deal as kindly and liberally with the dear children as it now does with persons of unsound mind, it will have an excuse for depriving them of a voice in the making of laws. The careless voter deserves more censure than sympathy; but it requires a large stretch of imagination to say that all who wilfully refuse to vote thereby approve or consent to the wrongs of successful candidates. Silence is often the only available means of expressing disapproval of the actions of packed conventions.

But, to get nearer to the heart of the question, why should the majority control the minority? Whence comes their right to dictate? Are they less liable to err? Is it not a matter of history that questions remain in controversy only so long as the majority are wrong? and that when a majority are right the question is quickly settled and the controversy ended? Is not human progress simply the correction of the errors of the majority? There are times when both majority and minority are wrong. In such case the question, after a wearisome wrangle, often long drawn out, unable longer to attract popular attention, is dropped. *Vide* tariff. But does not experience justify the assumption that in nearly all controversies the majority are wrong, and rule by might instead of right?

However, suppose the majority are right. It is a basic

principle with us that all are equal and free; and this is universally construed to mean that no individual, as an individual, has a right to dictate to another. Surely, no person can give to another that which he does not possess. Society is an aggregation of individuals, and its rights and powers cannot possibly exceed the sum total of the rights and powers of its individual members. Assuming that we have a population of seventy millions and a government that truly represents the sentiments of all but one lone individual, the right of the government to control that individual may be accurately expressed by the following equation:

$0 \times 69,999,999 =$  The right of the majority to rule the minority.

But it is possible to conceive of unanimous consent in the choice of rulers and the enactment of law, or unanimous consent to abide by the will of the majority; and this brings us to the real question, namely, the right of government to exist by consent, the right of men to consent to be governed. For one hundred and nineteen years that immortal document, the Declaration of Independence, has stood before the world, hated and feared by tyrants, admired by philosophers, and adored by the American people; but its sublime grandeur seems not to have been appreciated or even seen. Men boast of their inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and with the boast still on their lips begin disputing over which of two sets of men shall take charge of those rights for them.

An attempt to prove that the right to life and liberty is inalienable would be superfluous. For more than a century that truth has been declared self-evident, and the words have echoed from every rostrum and platform and pulpit in America. In all that time no one has arisen to dispute it. The simple statement, then, is enough: Life and liberty are inalienable. Glorious thought! Not only have we a right to life and a right to perfect liberty in the pursuit of happiness, but we cannot by our own act dispose of these rights, even for temporary purposes. He alone who gave them can take them from us. We can never shirk the responsibility of ourselves. We have ourselves always on our hands. In premeditating upon a course of action, we should feel and feel keenly that we alone are responsible for our acts. It should be our pleasure, as it is our right and duty, to burst away from every fetter, and never permit the opinions of others, even though bearing the imprint of legal authority, to swerve us from our manifest duty or excuse us for sins

of omission or commission. We can never have a right to do wrong; but, except it be granted him by the Almighty, no other human being can by any possibility have a right to prevent us from doing as we will.

None but an anarchist can appreciate true Christianity, and no true anarchist can long deny the teachings of the meek and lowly Anarchist of Palestine. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself." That is, thou shalt, with all thy powers, seek to know God's law and obey it; for love is active as well as passive. Be guided not by the laws of man, but by the laws of God. "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." And in the doing of these good works, "fear not them which kill the body," even though clothed with all the dignity of man-made laws, for they "are not able to kill the soul." "Judge not, that ye be not judged." "Resist not evil." "Give to him that asketh thee." "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you." Grant to everyone the liberty you claim for yourself.

Oh, what an inspiration! We are free, and we could not help it, if we would! We owe no allegiance to any lord, prince, or potentate, except the Supreme Arche of the universe. Life and liberty are inalienable.

True philosophical anarchists are rare. It is one thing to criticise the government, quite another to deny utterly its right to exist. Nearly every individual in the United States who has reached years of discretion can point out defects in our government, and tell just how they should be remedied—by law. But these same persons are quite sure that a bad government is better than none. Most self-styled philosophical anarchists think wrong should be prohibited. So do czar, sultan, and emperor. No despot ever attempted to prevent anything but wrong, as he saw it; and monarchs have as much right to their opinions as have anarchists. Human prohibition of wrong calls for a human standard of right, and a human judgment to compare the act with the standard. This opens the door to every abuse.

Let no one suppose that philosophical anarchists advocate disorder and strife. No more peaceable, order-loving people can be found than the true philosophical anarchists of the United States. They have no respect for the authority of rulers, but the profoundest respect for the wishes of others. It is because of this respect for others that they are



anarchists. No one who loves his fellow-man and believes in divine justice will wish to see any one deprived of liberty in the name of law.

Most philosophical anarchists are tireless agitators, and are trying to show that government is unnecessary. Few of them wish the government destroyed while public opinion is so generally in favor of it. They know that a high degree of intelligence and morality is essential to the existence of true anarchy, and that governments will exist so long as men think them necessary. Men will think them necessary so long as the accumulation of private property is the chief business of life. The accumulation of private property will be the chief business of life so long as the total production of wealth is insufficient to supply abundantly all the real and imaginary needs of everyone and still leave a surplus so great as to remove every fear of material want.

In the most bombastic manner we call this the "richest nation on earth," and boast of our "untold millions of surplus products"; while in fact we are always within a few months of starvation and nakedness. We consume each year nearly as much as we produce, accumulating only the beggarly pittance of less than one-twentieth of our annual product. And even this is possible only because a great majority of our people are without the means to supply many of their proper wants. Fully five-sixths of the inhabitants of the United States would eat better food, wear better clothes, live in larger and better houses, fill them with more and better furniture, adorn them with more and better pictures, read more and better books, and enjoy many other proper comforts and luxuries, if they could. But there is not enough for all, and no one can liberally supply the wants of himself and family unless he succeeds in getting more than an equal share. Hence, all are engaged in a grand scramble for what there is, and energy which should be applied to production is wasted in the fierce warfare of competition.

Those who desire the beautiful anarchy of Christianity, who wish to see God's will done on earth as it is in heaven, can in no better way show their sincerity than by helping to gain for everyone free access to the bounties of nature, and by promoting the establishment of an industrial brotherhood among men. When the present commercial cannibalism is replaced by a system of co-operative production and distribution, it will be possible, without great effort on the part of anyone, to fill the world with an abundance that shall laugh at want. When no one suffers from lack

of means to supply his material wants, no one will care for laws to assist him to rob his neighbor or to prevent his neighbor from robbing him. Then none will be cursed by their own avarice, and frugality will not be esteemed a virtue. When there is no temptation to lay up treasures on earth, it will be easy to teach men to seek to lay up treasures in heaven.

All hail, the anarchy of Christianity! the government of Truth and Love!

## PRACTICAL OCCULTISM.

### THE WILL AND ITS TRAINING.

BY MARGARET B. PEEKE.

In previous articles on "Practical Occultism," it has been stated that all visible results proceed from invisible causes, and to know the law regulating or controlling the *cause* is the aim of all occultists. Like the miracle-workers of all ages, the result has been produced by touching a law higher than is known to the ordinary mind. Whenever we see an effect that differs from one generally observed, we have but to look for a law that must have worked to modify the cause. The forces to be recognized and understood by a true occultist differ from those known to the scientific world, although both recognize unseen agents. The man of science uses that most subtle force, electricity, or a combination of invisible gases, and produces results that astonish the world; while the occultist penetrates a still higher realm, passing from electric currents and gaseous combinations to a world of causes, as yet but faintly recognized; and asserts that there is a law above known law, and mind is the ultimate cause. Instead of mind we will say spirit governs all things and operates through *thought force*, as electricity works along the wires of a telegraph.

In the world of humanity we find a condition of things that cannot be explained away by any known law. Heredity will not account for it, neither will environment nor physical conditions. Even mental power will not prove a sufficient cause for the result produced. It has frequently been seen that from an ancestry of inferior minds; from parents weakened by age or disease; in circumstances unfavorable to all development, a genius has been born, who has left an impress upon all succeeding ages. Who can account for this? If heredity is a law it must be unchanging. Who would dare predict what child can be expected from a certain ancestral line? If environment is the power so many would have us believe, why have we found the world's heroes among the obscure, and why from exactly the same environment do we find such a variety of natures? If vigor of parentage has aught to do with the problem, should we not find the

geniuses born when parents were at their best? The facts are these, that frequently the most ordinary children are born under the most favorable conditions, and when age has enfeebled and disease weakened, a child of marvellous powers is brought forth. We must look elsewhere for the cause of all differences between one human being and another, and occultism asserts that this cause is to be found in *will*—its concentration, training, and direction. Between man and man it is *will*. Between race and race it is *will* and its development. Between era and era it is the *will* of the masses along certain lines that mark that time as different from other times. Ever and always we shall find *will* the secret cause working according to a fixed law toward certain assumed ends.

To define *will* is not easy. One writer calls it the "centre-stance from which the rim of circumstance grows," meaning that, according to its centre in amount, will be the circle of its influence. Mystics have asserted that "God and *will* are synonymous terms," while the doctrine of the Rosy-Cross calls it, "the great motive power of the human ego," by which all the desires of the lower nature are held in check that the higher nature may find expression. In the history of mankind, whether we study it along secular or religious lines, it has ever been true, that whoever has come to the front in art, science, or literature has done so, not by any greater amount of talent, but by greater persistency and power of will. All conquerors, all achievers, all miracle-workers, have wrought through this same mighty agent. Jesus of Nazareth, the central figure of the ages asserted, "Whosoever *will* may enter the kingdom," and again, "Ye *will* not come unto me that ye might have light." A German writer speaking of this power says, "Will is a fluid like electricity, but far more subtle and powerful, and subject always to control by mind-action." Another writer calls it the "divine energos, white, pure, a miracle-working potentiality which only comes to the soul that is unshackled by the senses." "The will imparts any quality to the individual," says another. "The basic principle of all development is the will. It is all. Every faculty of the mind, every nerve of the body centres in it," echoes another; while the whole is summed up in the words of Jehovah, "*I am that I am*"—or, "*I will be what I will to be.*"

If there is a fluid more subtle and more powerful than electricity; if all achievement on all lines has been the result of this force; if men who have gained the heights and won the recognition of the world, have, either consciously or uncon-

sciously, possessed a knowledge of this; can we imagine any pursuit more profitable than the study of *will*—its *law*, and the training necessary to possess and use it? Is not the next step of racial ascent to be in this direction, to the end that what has hitherto been a special gift, may become universal?

Recognizing this fluid, we find its manifestation on all three stages of man's existence. On the physical or sense plane, it trains the muscles, it governs appetites and passions, and regulates the desires. On the mental, it stimulates man to exertions and labors Herculean, and through these the events of time are materially affected. It is the power that drove Disraeli to accomplish the marvellous transformation from the obscure Hebrew lad of London streets to the prime minister of England and gave him the opportunity to say to the world, "Any man can be anything he *wills* to be." On the spiritual plane, this divine energos affects the forces of space, and becomes the magician that knows past, present, and future, and delivers the body from pain and disease.

Whenever an individual awakens from the sleep of habitude or animality, and reaches out for a higher plane of existence, he finds the *will* stands ready to do his bidding. It may be weak and fitful, but it can soon be made strong and persistent. But wherever an individual finds himself when awakened, right there must the work begin. No one can hope to rise to a higher plane until the lower is completely mastered by the will. To live in the animal nature and expect to be emancipated from it by some unseen power from without, is against every law of nature. As well might a man expect an angel to come to his relief, if sinking in a swamp. All progress must be made from within, by the law of *will*.

If it was necessary that Franklin's discovery should wait for utilization, until a man should be born who could apply it to practical purposes, and if it has taken many decades to place in man's hands the inventions of an Edison or a Tesla, is it not evident that the practical application of this more subtle force will require even a longer time? Must not the specialist first apply its law, before it can become universal? If so, have there been, during the progress of man's development, any who have mastered this force, and, either consciously or unconsciously, made it of practical value? The leaders of all ethnic religions have been just such specialists. They have reached out after a something only *felt*, but not perceived, and thus reaching have been lead into the soli-

tudes and wildernesses until they have attained, and having attained, they have proved to the world that there is a *law above law*. This on the physical plane is illustrated by the swimmer. The natural law says, "All bodies heavier than water must sink," and the man who ventures out too far without a knowledge of swimming is lost; while he who knows the higher law rules the waves and is safe. This knowledge is the wisdom of the true occultist. It is something more than is possessed by a mere man of brains, and can only be obtained by long and serious self-discipline until it is a part of the individual. Mere knowledge of the mind is but a parrot-like imitation of the real, and the specialists of all ages, Moses, Daniel, Elijah, Paul, Jesus, and others of Bible-history, as well as Buddha, Zoroaster, and leaders of ethnic religions, and such as Apollonius of Tyana, Cornelius Agrippa, Jacob Boehme, Robert Flood and a host of others, are known and remembered because they had an experimental knowledge that others had not. This was based on *the power of concentration of the will*. One who was trained in Egypt and attained great power, wrote, "We hold that there are ætherial spacial centres of love, energy, and power, that might be reached by a vast number, who, lacking *will*, drone and doze away life, and die half-ripe, failing the power they might have attained."

Taking for granted that the German writer and others were right in asserting the existence of a universal force in nature more subtle and more powerful than electricity, we have next to decide upon its field of action and how we are to attain a control over it.

Will may be divided into two kinds, viz., universal and individual. Like the air, as long as it is not separated from the atmosphere around, it is general, but once inhaled, it becomes the breath of the individual, and as such its uses are at once turned into specific channels for the individual's health. The will, absorbed into an individual, has the power of working in two directions. As Jacob Boehme says, "Man's will can grow upward, and become a lily, or downward into the ground and become mere root. The one seeks light, the other darkness." Whenever a soul is born a spark of will is its heritage from God the Father of all will. This may be used solely on the lower or physical plane, or, stirred by ambition and inherent tendencies, may control mental activities; or it may reach out toward the Divine, and subordinate all else to this desire. As athletes show their purpose, by controlling desires for injurious articles of food or drink, and exercising a strong *will* in order that they may



win a victory, so in the higher realms we may know each man's will by his life.

The duality of the will, or its power to be directed by the law of attraction in two directions, is plainly seen in the vegetable world. The seed has in itself the living principle. Placed in proper conditions, this principle begins to expand and develop, until we find it working upward toward the light and downward toward the darkness at the same time. If tending too much in one direction, it is always at the expense of symmetry and equilibrium. In the development of man's higher powers the same law is at work, differing only in the quantity and quality of will-force. Intelligent beings are slow to admit that a tree has in its essence intelligent action and purpose; but whoever has watched the roots of a thirsty tree and followed their direction toward the distant spring of water, cannot fail to have been impressed with the manifestation of a *something* similar to what we call intelligence. The roots make no mistake as to direction, and show no weakness of purpose by cessation of action, but on and on they travel toward the desired object, not halting at even a rock that opposes, but going straight forward. In man we should call this intelligence, directed by will; what shall we call it in a tree?

In the symbols and allegories of different religions there is always a temple—an outer court—and a holy of holies. To enter in at the door is never the first step taken by the devout soul. It is after a long journey through the wilderness; after devious wanderings and manifold climbings that the seventy steps of preparation have been taken and man stands ready to enter. On the charts of the true Rosicrucian the pilgrim stands between the two pillars of the door, waiting for admittance. *Will* opens the door, but desire and imagination have strengthened will and brought the pilgrim thus far on his way. These allegories have had a common origin in universal wisdom; the wisdom spoken of by Solomon when he said, "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars." Paul, who was an initiate of a high order, writes all his epistles with an esoteric meaning, and while a child may read the words, the illuminated only may know what he would teach by the spirit. He also begins and ends in *will*. If the epistles of this truly wonderful man are read as letters from an initiate to his followers they assume an interest not usually recognized. He was a master—or as he styled himself, a master builder; and he urged his followers to build upon the Christ-foundation, not "wood, hay, stubble, but gold, silver, and precious stones."

A living principle is always one that has the power of self-reproduction. The will is such an one. From the original germ it can multiply itself again and again, until it is like the tree of life, and fills the entire being; and the sources of its strength are to be found in *temperance* and fortitude. The former will not permit the soul (or ego) to be led captive or diverted by the things that appeal to the senses and are pleasurable; while the latter holds it steady under all adversity, and does not permit fear to enter the citadel and undermine and weaken its foundations.

When self-consciousness has been exchanged for the universal consciousness, and the individual has awakened to a knowledge that a higher evolution is possible, the soul has reached a stage which, if compared to a plant, would be where the first ray of sunlight fell upon the little shoot as it crept from its underground world into a realm of light and air, and stimulated it to its highest possible unfoldment. All the germinating processes that went before were necessary to its development, yet were only a basis for its future growth. So with the human plant; so with the race. It has been necessary that it should have the preliminary stages of its unfoldment, but once having attained a realizing sense of greater and higher possibilities, it will never return to the root-life, the animal plane, the groping after God that it has hitherto known. The conflict produced by this awakening is referred to by Paul as the warfare between the old man and the new, the carnal nature and the heavenly. Hitherto all the *will* or force was downward toward individualization and separateness; from henceforth there is a divergence, and part of the will is attracted upward to produce a flowering, and in this effort strives to take the entire will and subjugate it. But the sense attractions have not lost their power, hence comes the conflict. As the ancient mystics expressed it, there is a major and a minor limbus. The former is from above and is the seed producing all things, while the latter is the thing produced. The major limbus is the creative faculty, and has its seat in the subjective mind (or as some might say *is* the subjective mind), while the minor limbus is the thing or being produced. This shows us that the lower self is but a reflection or product of the higher, and enables us to know every man's will by his life. It is from the union of the two that the immortality of the ego is born, as the spark of fire is born from the union of flint and steel. Ancient mysteries taught this truth, and on the island of Samos every Cabir was initiated only after he had experienced this inner marriage.

From that time he felt and knew himself to be a link in a never-ending magnetic chain connecting the highest and lowest worlds in its circle. The lesser links represented the unconscious entities, and the greater represented the conscious. According to the realization of this unity, and of the divine spirit flowing through all, was the measure of power in the individual. Power is born of consciousness and will—and in those far-off times, spiritual power was the aim of all training among mystics, and nothing shows so plainly the great gulf separating a Paul from the modern preacher as the difference between the aim then and now. All fame, all worldly ambition, was buried in the desire to *be*, and to achieve through being. All desire of the present age is to seem or to have, irrespective of *being*.

According to the degree of *will* is the amount of power. In all the realm of literature there are no names more conspicuous for having attained the knowledge of occult laws, than Moses and Daniel. They not only were wiser than all the magicians of their time, but they brought about the recognition of the *One* the true God, in a heathen land. How was their power gained? By the power of *will*. Moses fled from the luxuries of Egypt's court and spent years in solitude to achieve the desired result. "He endured as seeing Him who is invisible," says the Book. Daniel, in one of earth's most powerful courts, denied himself the luxuries of the king's table, lived a most abstemious life, and ended by being recognized as the most wonderful prophet of the world, and the master of all who possessed occult knowledge. *Will* did the work—*will*, that could say to the senses, "Thus far shall you be satisfied but no farther"; *will*, that could say to the animal desires, "Die, that the soul may live"; *will*, that could give up fame and ambition, riches and worldly honors, for *wisdom*.

Will grows by use, as muscles grow strong by effort. Every struggle made toward purification, toward the union of the higher and lower self, not only increases the will, but severs the cords that bind the soul to the world of sense. Every cord severed sends added will in an opposite direction, and freedom is the result. We may not be able to escape the destiny that belongs to us, but we can choose the path in which we shall travel to meet it. "Who are these in white garments?" asked John in the wondrous vision of the Apocalypse. "These are they who have overcome," was the reply, and in that reply we have the secret of occult power. To overcome the temptations of the lower plane, that the riches of a higher may be gained, is an absolute requirement of him who enters the path of life.

*Will* cannot be trained by another. Self must discipline self. No teacher, no books, no secret can take the place of self-training. Growth is ever from a hidden centre. The selfhood must be awakened to higher possibilities and reach out for a light that will guide it upward. No outward light can do this, for the real self does not belong to the outer but the inner world, hence the light must be within. How can it be found? By intense desire that *will*s to give up all, till the treasure is found, and in this initial step the true *will* begins its work. To be fixed in determination, to be single-eyed, to be persistent, is the secret of progress. "If thine eye be single thy whole body shall be full of light; but if the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness," said Jesus. And again, "Whosoever *will* may come" to the light, thus making will and light inseparable.

Personal *will* is not the true will. Born of time and personality, it must perish as do all that belong to these. Personal will may be held in check and dominated by another's will, while true will is divine in its very nature and can only be guided and controlled by its source. The one belongs to the objective world and rules or is ruled by the objects of sense. The other stands back of this and is king, because it belongs to the subjective mind and is a part of the *All*. It is the creator, bringing forth day by day a new world, producing order out of chaos, and subduing all things unto itself, by separating the things which are above from the things which are below. It is the greatest power man possesses, and according to its recognition it will work all things according to his pleasure. All lesser things must be subjugated by it, and from before it sickness and pain must flee away.

## IN FORO CONSCIENTIAE.

BY WILLIS MILLS, M. D.

Again had begun the mighty roar of a great city. The heavy drays thundered. The street cars rumbled. The newsboys screamed. And the steady tramp of thousands of people added to the din.

Some hurried along with steps eager and hearts buoyant; others walked slowly with minds saddened and depressed. The faces of some were bright with hope, the countenances of others showed a wrestling with silent agony. Light and shadow, joy and sorrow, laughter and pathos—always present as there slowly passes before us life's endless panorama.

In one of the private parlors of a prominent down-town hotel in Chicago, a man and woman had just finished a late breakfast and were still sitting at the table. Perhaps we should say boy and girl, for she could not have been more than seventeen and he was about three years older.

The man seemed nervous and evidently had something on his mind of which he dreaded to speak.

"Mary," he said suddenly, "I saw my father again yesterday. He refuses absolutely to give me another cent or have anything more to do with me unless I immediately go back home."

It was a white, startled face that confronted him in a momentary silence that followed.

"Why—what," she began, in a bewildered way,—

"It is a bad business all around," he interrupted, "I fully intended to marry you as I promised. But my father will not listen to it. Like too many millionaires' sons I have reached the age of twenty without knowing how to turn my hand to a single thing. The poverty and distress that would follow if we tried living together would make us both utterly wretched. It is best that—"

He hesitated as he raised his eyes and saw the agony in her face.

"Joe," said the girl in a low, hoarse whisper, "do—you—mean—that you are going to leave me?"

"We must face things just as they are, Mary," he continued, uneasily. "You must see that to a man of my luxuri-

ous habits, life as we would have to live if I married you would be unbearable. Instead of making you happy I should make you miserable. You have money enough to carry you to your Wisconsin home and it will be best to go back at once."

She rose from the table, walked to the window and for a long time looked out in silence. Then going back to where he was sitting, she stood behind his chair and timidly placed a hand upon each shoulder as she bent over him.

"Joe," she began in a broken, tremulous voice, "you said you would make me your wife as soon as we arrived in the city. You know I never would have come but for that promise. Father and mother distrusted you—I thought they were wrong—I trusted you fully. I did not mean to be a bad woman, Joe," she added, "I did not indeed. You know I am not vicious. I now see my awful mistake, but it was because I loved you so. And as I looked at it we were just as truly married when we became engaged as though we had stood before a minister. But the world requires something more.

"I beg of you to make me an honest woman, Joe. For four months I have almost daily asked you to do this. Then let us go away to some place where we are not known. I would not care how poor the surroundings as long as you were with me. We can get along somehow. I would try so hard to make you happy. And—and," she whispered something in his ear that made him start. "O, my God," she pleaded, "you will not leave me alone now! I never can go back to the farm and meet my friends. Tell me, Joe, that you will never—never leave me!" And almost frantic with terror she threw herself on her knees at his feet.

There was a pathetic eloquence in the plea of this simple country actress that was not stimulated by a desire to win the applause of men; far more was at stake—a woman's most sacred treasure. She was not brilliant, not particularly gifted in any line, but she was frank, honest, whole-souled, generous, and before women possessing such qualities men should always bow in admiration and extend a silent loyalty. She had seen nothing ere now but the bright side of life. All the world had seemed to her a fair landscape where flowers bloom and birds sing; she did not know there were dark jungles in life where upas growths flourish and where serpents crawl and hiss. All her life she had been singing pæans; she had never heard a threnody. Romantic, trustful, guileless, from her angle of vision all men had appeared generous and brave; she had not known



that behind a pleasing exterior may lurk a selfish and cowardly soul. However we may be astonished and appalled at the ignorance of the ways of the world on the part of young girls living in thousands of quiet country homes, that simple fact confronts us, and no one knows it better than the hunters of human prey.

As she knelt before him in her appeal the man's face twitched nervously. He was not so hardened as to be completely unmoved. Fine inherent qualities in his nature were permitted in childhood only to germinate, and in an artificial atmosphere had been nearly smothered. His mother was weak, his father cold and heartless. In the society in which he was wont to mingle such affairs as this did not debar the man from bidding for the best and purest women. If he had money, fathers did not object to selling their daughters, and upon the transaction mothers smiled with approval. And so with Joe Rivers' education there could be but a natural sequence—one more was added to the large list of those amorphous anthropoid specimens that everywhere inflict their presence upon society.

"Mary," he said rising and turning his face away as he spoke, "there is positively no use of your saying anything more. I repeat, it is best for you to go back home where you will be well provided for. What you say about our being married and going away somewhere is wholly impracticable. Poverty would make our home a hell on earth."

She did not say anything more as she proceeded to pack his trunk. It did not occur to her to upbraid. She had given him a strong, pure affection, and could not imagine herself using harsh words.

As he was buttoning up his overcoat she said, "You have forgotten your neckscarf, Joe, and the morning is chilly. Here—let me fix it for you."

His face crimsoned with shame as he allowed her carefully to arrange it. Then she drew his head down to hers, and a moment later a still, unconscious form lay on the sofa.

"God!" he said to himself,—"her treatment of me—my treatment of her!"

He watched her for awhile. She was very beautiful—in her dainty morning wrapper and with the ribbon in her hair which he had often told her made her look so well. Almost in the struggle within him that followed, Ormuzd conquered Ahriman!

But as the girl showed signs of returning consciousness the evil spirit obtained the ascendant and he hurried from the room.

During the remainder of the day in a vague, dazed manner she tried to think. She knew that however pure a life she might lead hereafter, the world would never accord to her the title and privileges of an honest woman.

Victor Hugo was right. "What a mournful minute is that in which society withdraws and consummates the irreparable abandonment of a human being!"

In instances like the one presented, above all things should be considered motive. A sad mistake should not be ranked as an unpardonable offence. A woman without the slightest taint of viciousness, who errs through her affectional nature, should not be placed on a level with her who sins from innate depravity. When under a promise of marriage a mere child is indiscreet and the lover plays false, the world has no right to place its foot upon her prostrate form and say, "Lie there forever!" relegating to life-long misery for a single error, which at the time was comprehended with no appreciable mental grasp! People should be too manly, too womanly to make no discrimination, and blindly following traditional custom, perpetuate a monstrous injustice.

Late in the afternoon she had evidently come to some conclusion, for she began placing her few effects in her trunk and valise. She did not cry now. She could not.

While arranging her things she came across his picture. "How handsome he is!" she thought.

She picked up a bracelet he had given her. "Joe was always very kind to me—"

Then she noticed he had left his ring. "And he prized it so highly," she said. "I must send it to him." And putting it in a package she carefully directed it to his father's house.

As night settles over the city a woman hurries along the streets of Chicago. And—God help her—men will not—her face is turned toward Fourth Avenue!

In the afternoon of a cold winter day, four hundred medical students had gathered in the autopsy amphitheatre connected with a large hospital in Chicago. As they waited for the professor there was the usual noisy uproar, and to while away the time several of the boys were unceremoniously "passed up" from the lowest tiers of seats to the highest. This is one of those interesting experiments often resorted to for relieving the tension occasioned by the daily outlook upon the dark side of life, and is intensely amusing—for the spectators. This amusement is greatly enhanced

if they notice, in the flight upward of the unfortunate victim that besides getting very angry he receives numerous contusions and his clothes are torn into shreds.

Sitting among the seniors on the lowest row of seats was a man whom we last saw seven years ago. His father's wealth had been entirely swept away in a financial speculation, both parents had died, and Joe Rivers, finding himself obliged to do something for a living, had chosen the study of medicine. He had not entirely renounced his old dissipated life, but being thrown on his own resources, he had so applied himself that he was considered to rank among the first of his class.

The uproar continued until the professor appeared and then quiet was quickly restored. Professor Smith was the most popular among the boys of all the college faculty. In the delivery of his lectures there was nothing of the routine. He was always clear, comprehensive, incisive. Being a young man he had especial advantages in coming into contact with the students and held the respect and confidence of every one of them.

A table was rolled into the room upon which lay the body of a woman. Rivers looked at it a moment with careless glance,—and then it seemed as though his heart would stop beating! That dark hair uncoiled, hanging below her waist; that brow, that nose, that mouth—surely he could not mistake—

Ay, man, it is Mary.

Lost is the old rounded contour of the face; sharply drawn and haggard are the features; no soft light shines now from the gray eyes—but it is Mary!

The nurse in attendance read the history of the case, and then the professor before commencing his talk, stood by the body for awhile and thoughtfully looked at the face.

"Gentlemen," he began, "I have conducted autopsies in this room for over ten years. During this time I have come into contact in the hospital with nearly every phase of human suffering. More and more as the years go by am I angered and oppressed at the exhibition in the world of a vast amount of needless misery. In this building at three o'clock this morning was finished the last act of one more tragedy. Sitting by this girl's bedside as she passed away, I resolved that this afternoon I should talk to you in plain, blunt words."

As Rivers listened his face became almost as white as that of the dead girl. The boys saw that something was coming and the room was very quiet.

"Gentlemen," the lecturer continued, "you and I know that there is one vice, which in the moral degradation and misery that it produces, transcends every other vice as the sun surpasses the stars in brightness. It is the custom in these days, when men and women actuated by the purest motives attempt to arouse people to a clearer moral perception of this evil, for the non-agitation class to denounce them in tones most severe. The literature they put forth is termed 'erotic'; they are said to belong to the 'coarse school of Zola', and many other expressions are heard of a like amiable nature. No one can strike a blow at a great wrong without having his motives impugned. So it ever has been; so it ever will be.

"There are four hundred young men before me," he said, sweeping his eyes around the amphitheatre, "I make this deliberate statement, weighing well my words: I believe that over eighty per cent of you are men of degraded manhood."

They turned toward one another with looks of consternation.

"You think I am severe," he added sternly. "Gentlemen, I mean to be severe. There is need of severity. You set yourselves up as custodians of health, and at the same time are engaged in its destruction. What a paradox! *Quis custodiet, ipsos custodes?*

"O men weak and purblind! Do you not know that between the origin and insertion of the muscles of the face fine fibres are dropped into the skin, and that the constant recurrence of good or evil thoughts produces lines that are a clear index to character? Many of you have the foreheads of kings, but on your faces is the expression of slaves! Are you willing to carry through life those cruel and selfish lines which class you among such psychical atavists as Danton, Marat and Robespierre? Hardly less now than in the time of the French Revolution are we justified in exclaiming, *O tempora! O mores!*

"It is quite the fashion among sexual perverts to claim that man by reason of sex is entitled to especial prerogatives. Men!—be honest with yourselves, and acknowledge that this is a contemptible excuse for vicious habits and is absolutely false.

"If this argument is true, then it logically follows, that the recruiters of brothels are engaged in a legitimate business, and the miserable existence passed by a large portion of mankind is in the highest degree laudable!"

He paused for a moment, and then in tones deep, measured, staccato, repeated those pathetic lines:

We have done with hope and honor, we are lost to love and truth;  
We are dropping down the ladder, rung by rung.

"Gentlemen, she who lies before you so white and still belonged to that class to whom the lines quoted especially apply. Last night she told me somewhat of her history. It is the old, old story—a woman's trustfulness, a man's perfidy, and then that life where human beings are corralled like cattle, insulted with impunity, spoken of with contempt, and crushed, humiliated, degraded until there is hardly left a semblance of womanhood!

"It is said that in the olden time, the mother of Sisera looked out of a window and cried through the lattice, 'Why is his chariot so long in coming? Why tarry the wheels of his chariots?' I fancy that far away in a home among the Wisconsin hills a mother often sadly looks out of the window and exclaims,—'This weary waiting! Will Mary never come back?'"

Nothing could be heard in the intense silence but a suppressed breathing as the lecturer slightly lowered his voice and proceeded.

"No, she will never go back. Never again will a mother's arm be thrown around her form or a mother's kiss be left upon her lips. Nevermore will the father gaze upon his child with pride, or the brothers and sisters turn to her for sympathy and help. Silent forever is the voice that once rang with laughter and gladdened the hearts of her friends. Motionless is the heart that once beat high with hope, and lustreless for all time the eyes that once sparkled joyously!

"Gentlemen," he went on, "in the autopsy that presently follows, our diagnosis of acute gastritis as the immediate cause of death will probable be confirmed, and thus will read the certificate; far more in consonance with facts would it be if the certificate read,—Died of man's selfishness!

"I am aware that such plain talk is rarely given to the students of a medical college and some of you will be inclined to censure. But the Supreme Court of the soul, than which there is no higher appeal—this tribunal presided over by the judges Reason, Justice, Purity and Conscience—tells us that we have no right to refrain from discussing freely a question that touches depths more profound than any other in the realm of sociology.

"Last night," he continued as he placed one hand gently

upon the dead girl's brow, "speaking of him who had first led her astray she said, 'I have nothing but tender thoughts toward him.'

"Doctors!—Boys! Continue your present course and your life will end in tremendous fiasco. I beg of you to henceforth be kings! Your profession brings you into most intimate contact with men and women, and gives you especial opportunities for advocating the new thought. You who are before me can, if you will, bring about a social cataclysm. You can create a wave of public sentiment that in its mighty onward march will sweep away the mental *debris* inherited from times barbaric. Then with clear brain and vision unobscured shall we be able to give to woman that justice which now we fail to accord. Gentlemen, endeavor so to live that when baffled with life's problem you wearily give it up, you may be enabled to look back and say: 'I have tried to be woman's friend.'"

Only by a powerful effort had Rivers so mastered his emotion as not to attract attention. He feigned sickness at the close of the lecture and quietly walked out. He sprang on a passing street-car not noticing or caring where it was bound, and sitting in the corner buried his face in his hands.

"My God!" he said to himself, "and that is the end of Mary!" To live such a life for seven years—to have no friends—brought to a hospital and dying among strangers—and then her lifeless form taken before those wild medical students to be coolly criticised and discussed! Horrible!

It was a fearful object lesson. The dead girl and the professor's stern arraignment caused the blackness of his life so to stand out that it made him aghast. The shame, the meanness, the despicable nature of his conduct! It was far into the night when, weak and trembling from the horror through which he had passed, he went to his boarding place, took a heavy opiate and tried to sleep.

All kinds of frightful apparitions succeeded one another in his dreams. Finally a woman kneeled with clasped hands at his bedside. She touched his face with fingers icy cold. Then he noticed that his hands, the clothes—everything was covered with blood! The woman changed suddenly into a fearful-looking being that towered over him holding aloft a sword ready to strike. And then he awoke and found himself shaking with terror.

Late one night at the end of three awful days, he found himself in Lincoln Park. For a long time he stood absorbed in thought. His mind was now clear and he could think in a rational way. He could hear nothing but the



sobbing of the wind mingled occasionally with the dull roar of the street-car. He could see nothing but the trees, the snow, and overhead the bright stars.

"I have nothing but tender thoughts toward him," kept ringing in his ears. If he could but kneel before her and touch her dress—he was not worthy to take her hand—and ask forgiveness! Did she know—now—how he felt? Could she see? Could she understand?

Before leaving the park he lifted his eyes to the dark vault above and said aloud, "Henceforth I shall be a man!"

And it gave him comfort to fancy that—she knew.

In one of the worst quarters of Chicago where the sunlight of hope rarely shines and the clouds of sorrow hang heavy and dark, a doctor's office is located. Eight years ago when a certain physician chose this locality in leaving school, people thought him crazy. They said that with his ability and a proper location he could obtain if he wished a clientèle from the best class in the city.

But those who know him say that he seems to care little for money. He lives very simply, and it has leaked out that all he can spare goes toward the help in various ways of men and women to whom life seems a never-ending night.

He has a wonderfully winning personality. He goes without fear into the very worst places. He is as free from harm and is looked upon with as much respect as a lassie from the Salvation Army. For the people have found out that he wants to do them good. He finds very many women in these resorts who wish to reform, but he is often perplexed to know what to do with them, for the "homes of refuge" are nearly always full, and society as a whole will not give them a chance.

People remark upon it as singular that he always treats the errant woman with respect. He never smiles when she is alluded to in sneering tone—they say he seldom smiles anyway.

One day while walking down State Street with a friend they met a sad-faced woman well-known to both, and as they passed he lifted his hat.

"Gad!" his companion remarked, "you took off your hat to that woman with the respect you would have given the finest lady in the city!"

"And why shouldn't I treat her with respect?" he replied hotly. "See here, Blanchard, we happen to know something of the history of that woman. We know that she was deceived in the first place by one of our 'set' and absolutely

driven to the life she now leads. Let us be frank. You and I are no saints. We have been engaged in the same damnable business. I consider that we have both been in depths as far below those into which that woman has descended as Chicago is below heaven. There was a time when, a happy, innocent girl, we were both glad to call her our friend. You remember that a week before her expected marriage with young Brown—he skipped. Good God!—As though you and I with our records were lowering ourselves by taking off our hats!"

"By the way, how did that neurectomy case come out?" said his friend, changing the subject.

One night he was called to see one of his patients who had been sick some time. He saw at once as he entered the room that the end was near. He shuddered as he glanced around and thought of a person dying in such a place. She was a mere child, and very fair.

"Well, Maggie?" he said gently as he took her hand.

"I guess you—you won't have to come any—any more!" she whispered.

The doctor was silent. She was failing rapidly and spoke with difficulty.

"I want to ask a—a question doctor. You have tried to— to help me and—I—can trust you. I did not choose—to lead—this life. I just had to! Do you think it—will go hard with me—over—over there?"

And she eagerly fastened her large eyes upon his face. He choked up for a moment and could not speak.

"Maggie," he said presently, and there was that fine sympathetic intonation in his voice which always gave people confidence, "you have an implicit belief that I would be honest with you?"

"Yes."

"No one knows anything about 'over there', Maggie, but I feel sure that you have nothing to fear. You have suffered much here. You won't be called upon to suffer any more. Don't worry."

"Thank you—oh—thank you for those words! You will not—leave me?"

"No," he said, "I will not leave you."

One of her friends had come into the room, and together they watched through the long hours of the night. Towards morning she was delirious, and from words that fell from her lips they saw that in fancy she was again a happy child in her old home, surrounded by the hills and streams and friends she so loved.

A long silence that followed was broken by her friend: "How quietly she sleeps!"

The doctor bent over her a moment and then straightened up. "Ay, she sleeps quietly," he said, "and our watch is over!"

And thus the child passed away—Maggie, with eyes so blue. They said nothing for a few minutes. Then he held out his hand to the girl: "Let me help you to get away from here."

There was a hard, icy despair in her answer: "Too late," she said, "it is too late!"

It is such scenes as this that come to him often, that cause Joe Rivers' hair to whiten rapidly. Thinking over the past gives to him at times torture almost intolerable, but it is some consolation that many times to those wandering through the night of despair, he is able to point out a star of hope.

So as the years go by, he is writing on the pages of Time, "Life's sad, exultant story." Sometimes he is very weary of living this kind of life. But if he ever falters he is given fresh incentive by a picture that comes before him,—a young girl with hands raised in supplication kneeling at a man's feet, and looking up into his face with sad, pleading eyes!

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.

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### A SOUTHERN WOMAN OF GENIUS AND HER WORK.

One day in the summer of 1890 I received a manuscript entitled "Fiddling His Way to Fame," accompanied by a brief note. Both were signed Will Allen Dromgoole. I read the sketch, and at once remarked to Mrs. Flower that, in my judgment, this was a case of the hand of Esau and the voice of Jacob, or, in other words, though the name signed was that of a man, the sketch was certainly the work of a woman or had been recast by a woman. There were certain fine strokes and delicate touches, in a word, a general atmosphere evincing a fine interior appreciation of the working of the human heart which characterizes woman's thought at its best and which stamped this as the work of a woman. I know this view does not accord with the opinion held by many of my friends in regard to mental differentiation, but my experience thoroughly convinces me that there is a subtle quality and intuitional power which is distinctly characteristic of woman, though there are men who possess this subtle something in a more or less marked degree.

I immediately accepted the sketch, as it was something I wanted to lighten the pages of our review, and because it possessed a certain charm which is rare among modern writers, being humorous and pathetic by turns, wonderfully true to life, and yet free from the repulsive elements so often present in realistic sketches.

Since that day the brilliant little Tennessee authoress, who bears a man's name, but who is one of the most womanly of women, has contributed more fiction to the ARENA than any other writer. Her sketches have proved extremely popular, owing to her artistic skill in bringing out the pathos and humor of the situations depicted, no less than the fidelity with which she draws her characters and her intense sympathy with humble life. She constantly reminds the reader of Charles Dickens, although her writings are free from the tendency to caricature and overdraw which always seems to me to be present in the works of the great English author.

Miss Dromgoole is nothing if not a southerner, and her love of the South is only surpassed by the affection she feels for the mountains and valleys of her dear old Tennessee. She is a woman of conviction and possesses the spirit of our era in a large degree. No one familiar with her work during the past four years can fail to note how steadily her views have broadened and how rapidly popular prejudice has given place to that broad and justice-loving spirit which is so needed in modern life, and which enables its possessor to rise above

petty prejudice or unreasoning conventionalism when conscience speaks to the soul.

Miss Dromgoole has had a hard life in more ways than one. It has been a constant struggle. It was not until after the death of her mother, who had ever encouraged and believed in her, that she began to write for the public. That was about nine years ago. With the death of her mother the home was broken up, and the loss of the dearest friend and counsellor to a nature so intense as hers, and the necessity of earning a living, led her to carry out her mother's oft-expressed wish and write for publication. Her first ambitious attempt won a prize offered by the *Youth's Companion*, and that journal and other publications accepted many of her stories. "But," to quote from her own words, "it was not until 'Fiddling His Way to Fame' appeared in the ARENA that I suddenly found myself famous, and since then I have had more orders for work than I have been able to fill."

As the personality of a famous writer is always interesting, I propose to give a brief descriptive sketch of the little woman of whom the South has just reason to be proud before noticing her new book. She is small of stature, fragile in appearance, intense in her nature, and of a highly strung nervous organism. I seldom care to dwell on the ancestry of an individual, as I think that sort of thing has been greatly overdone, and I believe with Bulwer that "not to the past but to the future looks true nobility, and finds its blazon in posterity." And yet the ancestry of an individual may sometimes prove a helpful and interesting study. I have frequently noticed in the writings of authors who exhibit great versatility, no less than in the lives of individuals who seem to present strikingly contradictory phases of character, the explanation of these phenomena in their ancestry. In the case of Miss Dromgoole we find an interesting illustration of this nature. Her greatgrandfather Edward Dromgoole emigrated from Sligo, Ireland, as he had accepted the tenets of Protestantism and his people were strong Catholics. It was unpleasant for him to longer remain in his native land. He became a prominent pioneer Methodist minister in Virginia. One of his sons, a well known orator, represented the Petersburg district in congress. Her maternal grandfather was of Danish extraction, while her great-grandmother on her father's side was an Englishwoman and her great-grandfather on the mother's side married a French lady. Here we have the mingling of Irish, Danish, English, and French blood, with some striking characteristics of each of these peoples appearing perceptibly in the person and works of Miss Dromgoole. Though she repudiates the English\* in her blood, her sturdy loyalty to high principles and an ethical strength are wedded to a certain serious-

\* In a personal letter Miss Dromgoole says, speaking of this subject: "I do not know what I am. I claim the Irish and the French. I feel the Danish blood in my veins at times, but the cold blood of the English I repudiate."

ness, almost sadness, which is continually suggestive of the Anglo-Saxon at its best. She has the Irish keen sense of humor, which is seen in her writings and lectures, no less than in her conversation. The energy and determination together with the persistency of the Dane, and some of the bright and versatile characteristics of the French, are evident in her life and work, although there is a strong tendency to dwell too much on the gloomy side of life which even the Irish humor and the cheerful qualities of the French blood have not overcome. This is due I think largely to the blow occasioned by the death of her mother and the terrible struggle which has marked her life, and which has been waged against adversity with much the same sense of loyalty to right as marked the Roundheads in their conflicts with King Charles I.

Her parents, John E. Dromgoole and Rebecca Mildred Blanch, after marriage moved from Brunswick County, Virginia, to Tennessee. Miss Dromgoole was born in Murfreesboro in the last named state, and graduated from the Female Academy of Clarksville, Tennessee. For several years she was engrossing clerk for the senate of Tennessee. During recent years she has spent much of her time in Boston and New York, where she has been warmly welcomed and has many sincere admirers among those who appreciate genius and sterling worth.

Her new volume of short stories merits more than a passing word of notice. It illustrates the author's power and versatility in a forcible manner, and will prove a valuable addition to the literature of genuine merit from the pens of southern writers. The first two sketches, "The Heart of Old Hickory" and "Fiddling His Way to Fame," are semi-historical, and in each ex-Governor Taylor is a prominent character. The first of these sketches is, in my judgment, one of the finest short stories of the present generation. It has proved unusually popular and displays the wonderful power of its gifted author in blending humor and pathos, while investing with irresistible fascination a sketch which in the hands of any other than an artist would appear tame and insipid. It is a masterpiece in its way, and like all her writings deals largely with the hopes, sorrows, aspirations, and tragedies of the common life in Tennessee. "Fiddling His Way to Fame" is a unique and most delightful sketch, which will convince all readers that the author might have made a great success as an advocate before a jury had she chosen law instead of literature for her profession. "A Wonderful Experience Meeting" and "Who Broke Up de Meetin'?" are masterful sketches of present-day negro dialect work. Unlike many persons who assay this field of literature Miss Dromgoole never overdoes the dialect, and those familiar with the vernacular as spoken in Tennessee and Kentucky will recognize the absolute fidelity to the requirements which characterize these amusing and faithful sketches. They are in her happi-



est vein, and are extremely well written. "Rags" is a pathetic picture of the street gamin life, showing the strength of our author when she paints in sombre hues.

"The Heart of the Woods" is in many respects strikingly unlike the other stories. Through it flows a strain of supernormalism which is rarely found in the writings of our southern authors. In many ways it is one of Miss Dromgoole's best productions, and illustrates anew the versatility of the author. Perchance the manes of some of her Norse ancestors may have been about her when she penned the sombre but fascinating creation "The Heart of the Woods."

In "Old Logan's Courtship" we come out again into the sunshine, as here we find humor predominating. This sketch, like most of Miss Dromgoole's short stories, is taken from life. The bases of her best sketches have been actual occurrences, which, however, required the subtle power of the true artist to make others see and feel the life, with its sunshine and shadows, in the scenes depicted. The play of Hamlet it will be remembered existed before Shakespeare's time; but it was the immortal bard of the Avon who breathed into it the breath of life, such as comes only from the imagination of a genius, and lo, the mannikin was imbued with life.

"In Christmas Eve at the Corner Grocery" we are strongly reminded of the Dickens quality in the writings of our author, without the slightest indication of imitation. This sketch has proved unusually popular as a recitation at Christmas entertainments, and almost ranks with "The Heart of Old Hickory" in popularity with public readers. It is a charming story to be read at any time, but especially appropriate for the holidays.

This volume will take a high place among the meritorious works of modern southern authors. Tennessee has just reason to be proud of the little authoress who has depicted so many phases of humble life within her borders with such fidelity, such delicacy, and such rare pathos and humor.

B. O. FLOWER.

#### MAGNETISM.\*

E. H. WILSON, A. M.

In Krummacher's beautiful parable, *Der erste Sabbath*, is given a vivid description of the wondering awe with which the "first-born son of creation" beheld the approach of the first night and the outcoming of the stars. From that day to this reverent minds have not ceased to view with awe the star-studded heavens. Though scholars of rare genius have studied the problem of the universe, the universe remains an unsolved problem. Since Sir Isaac Newton announced and set

\* "Magnetism: Its Potency and Action; with Suggestions for a New Cosmography and a New Celestial Geography." By George W. Holley. Pp. 280; price, cloth \$1.25, paper 50 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

forth the so-called laws of gravitation and their application to all matter and more especially to all celestial bodies, astronomers have done much to elucidate "the facts concerning the stars, suns, planets, nebulae, and other celestial bodies considered as things, as material bodies moving in space, their elements, motions, periods, their mass, volume, and weight, and their relations to and influence on each other"; but "the system under which the whole mass, the grand aggregation of the celestial bodies is arranged, their common centre if they have one, their present and future positions, the probable or possible changes to which they may be subjected, and the probable or possible periods of their existence, are still undetermined." But the difficulties inherent in the problem do not deter the author of the book under notice from considering the present state of our knowledge on the subject, from glancing at the different theories of the stellar cosmography, and after classifying and collating such truths and facts as observation, experiment, and experience have furnished, from considering "what further progress may be possible in our explorations of this most extensive and sublime field of human knowledge."

To acquaint the reader more fully with the range and scope of his design, the author quotes the following suggestive paragraph from Professor Newcomb's "Popular Astronomy":

The widest question which the study of the stars presents to us may be approached in this way: We have seen in our system of sun, planets, and satellites a very orderly and beautiful structure, every body being kept in its own orbit through endless revolutions by a constant balancing of gravitating and centrifugal forces. Do the millions of suns and clusters scattered through space and brought into view by the telescope, constitute a greater system of equally orderly structures? and if so, what is that structure? If we measure the importance of a question, not by its relations to our interests and our welfare, but by the intrinsic greatness of the subject to which it relates, then we must regard this question as one of the noblest with which the human mind has ever been occupied. In piercing the mystery of the solar system, and showing that the earth on which we dwell was only one of the smaller of eight planets which move around the sun, we made a great step in the way of enlarging our ideas of the immensity of creation and of the comparative insignificance of our sublunary interests. But when, on extending our view, we find our sun to be but one out of unnumbered millions, we see that our whole system is but an insignificant part of creation, and that we have an immensely greater fabric to study. When we have bound all the stars, nebulae, and clusters which our telescopes reveal into a single system, and shown in what manner each stands related to all the others, we shall have solved the problem of the material universe considered, not in its details, but in its widest scope.

Although our author is profoundly impressed with the magnitude of his undertaking—an undertaking that might well appall a well-equipped man in the prime of life—yet he is impelled by a "sincere desire to somewhat enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge and manifest forth the Divine glory." This reverent spirit appears

throughout the work, which is the result of long-continued and painstaking investigation into the deep problems of nature. However, the theory advanced and the conclusions reached by the author will not, probably, be accepted by most men of science; for he assumes that magnetism, not electricity, is the most efficient force in nature.

As the author finds no succinct, comprehensive, and satisfactory definition of the entities, space, matter, and time, he asserts that space is limitless, matter indestructible, and defines time as "the measure of motion and rest." And "the union of Space, Matter, and Time is direct, intimate, and perpetual, their correlation perfect and absolute." Reaching this conclusion, he proceeds to consider force and motion, and asserts that magnetic and electric lines of force are analogous. He believes that the experiments of Faraday and others corroborate his view that the magnet is the sustaining power and a source of electricity, and also that magnetism defines "the unity of what are called the forces of nature," a unity "of which all physicists are practically convinced, but what term shall define that unity is not settled." In the author's opinion it is magnetism; for the "magnet presents a system of forces perfect in itself and able, therefore, to exist by its own mutual relations, and there is no other force of which this can be said." He finds confirmation of this view in the fact that an electric discharge will not pass in a perfect vacuum; whereas a magnetic force will freely pass as has been demonstrated by Faraday and Hopkinson. On the authority of Plücker he is convinced that there is a reciprocity of action between the force that unites the molecules of matter and the magnetic force, and that "through the medium of the latter the correlation of the attraction of aggregation with the other modes of force may be established." Hence he concludes that gravity is a form or modification of magnetism. Having no longer a doubt that "there is but one force in nature acting constantly and freely and that is the magnetic force which is the all-sufficient agent to cause the constant action of gravity," he holds that light and heat are both forms of magnetic force, that the sun is a magnet, and that if the sun be a magnet and gravity a form of magnetic force, "we have at command an easy solution of all physical phenomena."

Magnetism in its transcendental relations is next considered and found to be "the connecting link between mind and matter, or rather the medium by and through which the Divine energy is imparted to all matter, and the primary exhibition of this energy was an exercise of God's will," the personal magnetism of Deity being the life principle of every living organism; for "Deity is the grand centre and pository of all forces—the omnipotent magnet."

Experiments in magnetism made by the author and others show the effects of cold on the magnet, the effect of magnetism on growing plants, on the sense of smell, on keenness of vision, and on the sense of

touch. In the chapter on energy the author concludes that electricity is condensed magnetism, and that "electricity, light, heat, gravity, sound, chemical affinity, capillary attraction, repulsion, attraction, disruption, and explosion are modifications of it [magnetism] or are influenced by it." In a word the sphere of the activity of magnetism is "everywhere, in everything, in all conditions of life and in all forms of matter."

The author treats of animal magnetism, the brain—its structure, functions, and action, the heart—its function and action, and holds that the magnetic force is "the vis-viva of the brain and the body."

After making it clear to himself at least that the "magnetic force is the agent through which Deity creates new worlds from the infinite store of world-stuff that fills the infinity of the outer-stellar space," the author describes his new system. Those curious in such matters will read with interest the description of this new system which is composed of seven forms of space. These seven forms of space constitute the "universe" which is "enveloped by and permeated with the infinite magnesphere, whose currents of life and force, infinite in number, are forever coursing towards its vital centre." This centre is the asymptoid and is supposed to be the dwelling-place of God. Fitting into the asymptoid and radiating outward and filling all space are the six equal hyperboloids, in one of which near the centre is our solar system. Star-dust, drawn in from outer stellar space by the magnetic force, is forming new worlds in these hyperboloids, or increasing the size and intrinsic brightness of the existing suns.

In the chapters dealing with animal magnetism, psychic force, thought-transference, and hypnotism, the theory that the problem of all life may be solved with the aid of spiritism ("used in its diviner sense") and magnetism is illustrated and enforced by copious quotations from the author's personal experiences. Some of these experiences are remarkable. Not a few readers will doubt the actuality of their occurrence; but probably few will question the sincerity of the author. He undoubtedly is honest when he says that these experiences were real to him; and explain them how we will, we have no right to question his integrity. We may deny his premises, dissent from his conclusions, and prove his reasoning illogical if we can; but we must admit that he is an intelligent and enthusiastic searcher for truth, and that he is more interested in enlarging human knowledge than in winning fame by establishing the truth of his theory. Perhaps we cannot do the reader a better service than by ending this notice of the book with two brief quotations, of which one will show the style of argument and the other the motive of the writer:

"Since matter and force are held to be indestructible, and since force can be made manifest only through matter, it must follow that every organism, animal, plant, or vegetable, is a mechanical structure operated by *some* force. But these organisms are endowed with a

force that enables them to perpetuate themselves indefinitely, each after its kind. Hence that force must be constant, pervasive, effective. As we have repeatedly noted, there is in nature but *one* force that invariably and perfectly fulfils these conditions, that is, the magnetic force. Hence if there be no error in our facts and no fault in our reasoning, the inexorable logic of the concept is that there can be no life without magnetism. . . .

"Finally we wish further to emphasize the fact that the supreme origin, centre, source, germ, and root of the new system is Deity. All spirit, power, energy, force; all life, matter, motion are the direct outcome of His will, the result of His laws. Ample material, ample ways and means are provided for the execution of those laws, with endless space and time for their perpetual development. And thus the grand processes of nature are forever carried forward, and thus with ever-increasing reason, ever-growing emphasis, the firmament sheweth forth the handiwork and the heavens declare the glory of God."

E. H. WILSON.

#### SENATOR INTRIGUE AND INSPECTOR NOSEBY.\*

Frances Campbell Sparhawk, whose story of "A Wedding Tangle," brought out by the Arena Publishing Company, received such commendation from the critics, has lately written another book, "Senator Intrigue and Inspector Noseby, a Tale of Spoils," now in its second edition. As Miss Sparhawk has been for years engaged in Indian work, she has gained an inside view of Indian affairs of which, in connection with what she knows of "spoils" in that branch of the government upon which she builds her story, or rather, in which she finds her story, she is prepared to write graphically. Its setting and some of its incidents are the fruit of a trip to Indian Territory in connection with her Indian work, where she gathered material at first hand.

But it is not here alone that she has been behind the scenes, for no person with the least knowledge of politics can fail to recognize the truth of the following scene, and no one who has Civil Service reform at heart can fail to resolve that his vote shall help to put an end to such politics. "Inspector Noseby" had arranged with "Senator Intrigue to find places for the latter's henchmen in the Indian service:

The inspector had finished his tour of investigation which ended soon after his visit to this reservation, when one morning he presented himself at the door of Senator Intrigue's fine residence in Washington.

"The senator's too busy to see anybody," announced his secretary. "He's preparing his great speech on 'Political Reform.'"

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\*"Senator Intrigue and Inspector Noseby," by Frances Campbell Sparhawk, pp. 162, cloth \$1.00. Boston, Red-Letter Publishing Company. For sale by all book-sellers. Or sent postpaid by the publishers on receipt of price.

A broad smile overspread Noseby's countenance. "Ah! indeed," he said. "That's good. But you'll do me the kindness to take him this at once." And he handed his card.

"He gave strict orders that he would see no one," responded the other positively.

"Young man, you'll take that card to him at once," returned the visitor with a threatening air. "And be quick; it's business of importance. It's his business, not the state's, blockhead."

"O, I see, sir. Excuse me."

And the secretary disappeared, to return again almost immediately. "Walk this way if you please, sir," he said deferentially.

Noseby's fair face glowed darkly with triumphant malice.

"Would you like to hear a few extracts from my report before it's given in?" he demanded.

The other nodded. The two men smiled at each other a moment, and Noseby drew forth his note book.

"You don't care to have me go through the list, I s'pose!"

"You can prove them all?" asked Intrigue. "That's to say, Noseby, prove them in your own way, you know."

"Prove 'em!" echoed the other with the very tone of injured innocence. "What do you take me for? Do you s'pose there's the least doubt of my being able to prove everything I've got here? And you may be sure I shan't throw in my asides to you by way of explanation," he laughed. "No, sir!" he went on warming with his subject, "there's no doubt, not a particle,—NOT EVEN IF I HAD TO PROVE 'EM. But that's out of our line, you see. We don't prove; we STATE. In this enlightened age, senator, we don't hang a fellow on one man's testimony. BUT WE CUT OFF HIS HEAD!"

The inspector's peal of laughter was echoed by the man whom his state had sent to guard the honor of her name.

"Pretty good!" he cried. "It's the one man affair that's our tower of strength, Noseby."

With the history of this politica! "deal," and depending for its sequence upon the results, runs the love story of Chekotoco and Wasu.

Altogether, the book is a worthy successor of "A Wedding Tangle," which gave us a charming love story set in the midst of the most heroic time in the early part of the eighteenth century, the time of the famous siege and capture of Louisburg. No one who likes a vivid and pathetic story of matters "up to date" should fail to read "Senator Intrigue and Inspector Noseby," and no one who wishes to have people wake up to the enormity of "spoils" should fail to urge its being read.

C. SELDEN SMART.

#### VISION OF THYRZA.\*

E. H. WILSON, A. M.

This poem seems to be the utterance of one that has endured hardness as a good soldier of the Cross. The thought is expressed in

\* "Vision of Thyrsa: The Gift of the Hills," by Iris. Cloth; price 75 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston.



dramatic form, and the *dramatis personae* are the nature deities of ancient Greece. The theme has had momentous significance for those who think ever since a conscience-stricken soul uttered the startling cry, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Theologians and philosophers have wrestled with the subject of individual responsibility, and yet we have no consensus of opinion that closes discussion. The last word has not been said. Whoever is convinced that he has a sane thought that may make the problem of life more clear, more understandable, ought to speak, for peradventure his word may prove a "word of life" to many a burdened soul. Whoso does ought to improve human life by diminishing its ills or by inspiring his fellowmen to a larger, a more hopeful, a diviner life, is so far forth a public benefactor and is doing somewhat to bring in the kingdom of God.

Those who believe that man is a free moral agent without limitations and that all the woes that make the earth a "vale of tears" are due to man's propensity to evil according to the dogma embalmed in the phrase "original sin," should welcome every honest endeavor to quicken, to enlighten, and to educate the human conscience. And those, on the other hand, who hold that the individual is very largely the product of heredity and of his environment will hail every sincere word whose aim is to inform men of their responsibility as shown by the laws of heredity and environment.

It seems clear to the writer that some such thoughts as these and a philanthropic motive have induced the author of the poem under review to publish it in the hope that thereby she might augment the sum of human happiness.

Bound are we ever to teach to men innocent pastoral joys,  
Without which ne'er was true patriot born,  
Soil of the Earth to protect from false usage of vice.

At whose summons to-day in glad service of men we come.

Many of the miseries of human existence are attributed to the fact that men do not duly honor agriculture. Before Apollo, who is speaking, arises "Earth" in human form and he exclaims:

Cybele! O Cybele! great mystic Mother, my loyal soul's dear love,  
Whose glowing breast speaks to the desolate forever of Hope's new  
day,  
Whose all-enduring power, whose treasured strength's thy children's  
benison,  
A new song wilt still teach me?—who herein asks that, gracious, men  
Shall in all their usage unto thee do honor.

Cybele replies:

Know ye I rise in passion supreme and proclaim *Earth* falsified sore.  
Know ye that men the soil prostitute, and a continent make foul,  
Nature, that's one with the spiritual world in all things corresponding,  
Her true uses sacrificed, to evil they turn.

They the great uses of life, of health, and of peace despise,  
 The wholesome land tilling for falsehood and sin,  
 Of simplicity, the perfumed incense, perpetual and holy esteeming  
 not.

But the goddess closes with a promise for him

Who ever

With humble glad offering of his best the heavens by violence takes,  
 Compelling its powers to descend in benefit and blessing to men.

The author rightly refuses to accept a "strange Providence" as a sane explanation of the troubles men bring on themselves by their childlike greed and reckless self-indulgence. She believes that men cannot violate the laws of God with impunity, be it in the intellectual, the moral, or the physical world.

Strange honor we do a sane God, with logic that to "Deity" or  
*nouhere*  
 Assigns that which through abuse of culture to mania and useless-  
 ness "predestines" mankind.

Man must learn not to question of

Justice eternal, if for some sequence strange he fall on an evil day.

Men close their eyes to the grand manifestations of God's power,  
 goodness, and mercy and

The truth shirk, and, cowardly o'erreaching the pure uses of life,  
 Mould for themselves and their progeny an iron fate.

Nature is poetically conceived as mirroring in her casualties and phenomena the human soul.

When o'er all the land vice shall cease to be cultivate, nor esteemed  
 "Industry,"

The race from tyranny of impotent hereditary negations shall rise,  
 From spiritual and elemental Anarchy growing to pure and  
 Great apprehension of the divinity of man. Then shall  
 Material Nature cease to mirror his mania, drunkenness, and child-  
 like greed

By Flood, Tornado, and Hurricane; Earth be visited by habitable  
 airs  
 And winds genial, a pacific and immortal clime of glorious youth.

The last quotation shows that the author augurs better things for the future, and with "prophetic mind" perceives that the time will come when man will live in harmony with Nature and yield himself to the guidance of "Divine Love."

When men the great principles of life's true usage and thought  
 reclaim,

Necessity asking before greed and cash values of filth,

'Tis then the great God in his might comes down; 'tis then that all  
 Hope

And all Love come down.

Yet cometh to homes of the Earth new friends and true,  
 And men to Vesta beloved of the Gods, a new song will lift up;  
 While pest and disease at the coming of Ceres to hide have no chance,  
 As beautiful and glorious forms of Earth's healthful new growths,  
 Create by life-culturing hands, take place of death and weeds  
     destroyed,  
 Then, Plenty from the encouraged plow shall rise, to fill, enrich,  
     adorn our happy land.

A noble simplicity and wholesomeness will characterize the life of men; there will be universal peace; and the whole world will rejoice in the return of the Golden Age.

E. H. WILSON.

#### POVERTY'S FACTORY.\*

In this little volume Mr. Krebs aims at being practical, and confines his suggestions, as he himself signifies early in the work, to what seems to him to be practicable. All communism, Fourierism, Saint-Simonism, transcendentalism, and Nationalism, everything of the nature of a "dream" or a "towering air-castle," he plainly disavows (pp. 9, 10). To be sure the only *radical* cure for the multitudinous wrong of life, abnormal wealth and poverty included, he admits—nay, urges—lies in the establishment on earth by the Holy Spirit of the kingdom of God (p. 126). Still, while acknowledging this to be the final aim, its attainment, he thinks, is to be helped on and hastened, if not eventually brought about, by human action on comparatively low planes (p. 126). Taking men, then, as we find them, viz., before all things selfish; recognizing that it is the selfishness of the classes having power that has produced the present inequitable distribution of wealth (mainly by means of class-legislation in their favor), Mr. Krebs would remedy the injustice through the agency of the same quality that has caused it, to wit human selfishness;—in other words, by giving the *other* classes governmental representation, and so a chance to legislate, *for a while*, in their *own* favor. Hear Mr. Krebs himself:

Comprehensive representation is, it seems perfectly clear to me, the practical and attainable goal towards which the middle and lower classes should patiently and unwaveringly push forward. In one word, comprehensive representation is the panacea I have to propose for the economic diseases of the day. Comprehensive representation would produce comprehensive legislation, and that is undoubtedly *the great need of the hour*. Let our representation in Congress be more truly representative. To effect this let the present geographical basis of representation be paralleled or supplemented by an *industrial and professional basis*; i. e., instead of having merely electoral districts consisting of geographical sections embracing political parties com-

\* "Poverty's Factory; or the Curse, Cause, and Cure of Abnormal Wealth," by Stanley L. Krebs, M. A. A plain statement of the social and economic sins of the day, with the method of their minimization through a modified system of representation. Paper; 16mo; pp. 177; price, 25 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

posed of a promiscuous medley of industries and professions, let every recognized profession, trade, and avocation existing within these geographical or electoral districts separately organize, and send its proportionate number of delegates to the convention of the next higher or larger district or section, and so on until the state and national legislatures are reached. If it is true, for example, that the farmers number three-fourths of our total population, then they ought to have, approximately at least, three-fourths of the total number of congressmen. Merchants, mechanics, laborers, manufacturers, publishers, ministers, lawyers, and so on to the end of the list, should be entitled and commanded to organize and send their ratio of representatives to Congress, to the state legislatures, and to municipal councils.

This plan would not be as difficult to inaugurate and carry out as one might at first thought of it suspect. Nearly all kinds of tradesmen, laborers, manufacturers, and professional men, voters in the land, are already severally organized. There are the trades unions, state and national brotherhoods, leagues, manufacturers' clubs, medical societies, legal fraternities, and, among the clergy, synods, assemblies, and conferences. These existing organizations could easily be utilized as bases or nuclei and be severally perfected, and then be divided into state, congressional district, county, township, municipal, and ward divisions, and be empowered with electoral prerogatives and accorded representation in municipal, county, state, and national legislative bodies based on a fixed ratio to membership. . . . In the case of small interests, too small to have the number required to entitle them to even one representative, they could join together, or unite with a larger body industrially or professionally near of kin. (Pp. 130-134.)

Such a system of representation, its proposer holds, would possess the following advantages:

- (1) Every avocation would have, what many avocations to-day lack, a fair chance of getting its needs attended to at the legislative centres.
- (2) Every avocation would be represented according to its *relative importance* or numbers.
- (3) "The best elements in our communities would appear at the primaries, for all would be sure of meeting there none but their own industrial or professional associates; and, moreover, the places for holding their respective primaries would be selected according to the tastes and wishes of each organization. Saloon men, for example, could continue to meet in saloons, but could not compel others to do so.
- (4) Better men would be sent to councils, to the state legislatures, and to Congress for the simple reason that each industrial and professional organization would be more familiarly acquainted with the men who are prominent and trustworthy in their respective lines of labor than with men in other lines."
- (5) "There would be more *real interest* taken in and more *earnest study* devoted to the business and requirements of sound government by everybody, for all would feel themselves directly needed and concerned. Government would be lifted out of the political sphere into the business realm where we think it belongs. Statesmanship is not politics, but business, and should so be considered by one and all."
- (6) "If injustice should be done to any interest we would all know just where to put the blame, viz., upon its own representatives on the floor, whose inactivity, lack of vigilance, wisdom, or tactics, laid them open to imposition or defeat."
- (7) "Vote-purchase, bribery, and the prostitution of the law-making power on the part of unscrupulous

trusts and selfish combines and corporations would be rendered so difficult, owing to the large number of electoral bodies sending their representatives to councils, state legislatures, and congress, that this subtle and satanic sin would be practically eliminated from the political and economic arena. It would require too much money, in the first place, to reach and influence the large number of organized industries and professions; and, in the second place, many of these would be morally far above the reach of bribes; and, thirdly, many more would be intellectually too sharp for the specious wool-pulling pretexts of golden-tongued combine presidents and silver-lined trust agents. . . . Industrial and professional representation would make *too many* heads for bribers to attend to. They simply could not get and keep this refractory medley of representative heads in line."

The method proposed, it is declared, would also "absolutely abolish gerrymandering and all possibility of it. It would render possible the enactment of laws for curbing stock inflation by corporations. It would strike a telling blow at the omnivorous greed and shameless bribery of trusts and combines. It would, in the most natural manner, provide for the adequate representation of minorities, which, says John Stuart Mill, 'is an essential part of democracy, for no real democracy, nothing but a false show of democracy, is possible without it.' . . . In short, industrial and professional representation would be a Nemesis to oppressors and the 'sword of the Lord and of Gideon' to the oppressed. The wronged, therefore, have it in their own power to right their wrongs, and their most effective weapon is not the strike, nor the bullet, but the ballot" (pp. 134-144).

It seems as if industrial and professional representation may, not impossibly, have suggested itself to its propounder on reading Mr. Bellamy. It appears to flow not unnaturally, *i. e.*, without any very great amount of straining, from Mr. Bellamy's idea of taking industrial divisions as bases, and organizing each trade, profession, *etc.*, into a sort of modified trust. In intimating this, it is by no means intended or desired to deny to Mr. Krebs' originality. *All* original ideas are suggested by *something*.

"Poverty's Factory" is written in a style earnest and incisive, though occasionally marred by vulgarity. At least two distinct witticisms are to be credited to the book: "the Astors and the Astoroids" (p. 90); "Long ago it [*viz.*, the rule in the United States senate forbidding the previous question to be called] ought to have been relegated to the category and *catafalque* of the obsolete and the useless" (p. 83—the italics are mine). Fairness to the book forbids further quotation or elucidation. For fuller acquaintance with a fresh suggestion in a field in which from present indications we shall need all the wisdom we can get, read "Poverty's Factory."

NEWELL DUNBAR.

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## NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS.

### **The Arraignment of the Chicago University by Professor Bemis.**

Prof. Edward W. Bemis has at last spoken, refraining with rare good judgment until after President Harper of Chicago University placed him on the defensive. In his statement he shows clearly that the Standard Oil octopus and other capitalistic combinations, which are so rapidly destroying every vestige of free government in the broad sense in which our fathers comprehended it, have their tentacles around the Chicago University, and that no man who is true to his highest nature and fearless enough to speak out can expect to remain as an instructor in that institution.

Professor Bemis' words should be pondered well by all thoughtful Americans. They, taken together with the insolence exhibited by the trusts and monopolies of late, the action of the Supreme Court in the income-tax decision, the subserviency of Congress before the money power, the arrogance of the administration, and the terrible increase of the tenantry among the agrarian population of the United States, are facts which should awaken alarm in every patriotic breast. The present is no time for sleeping or for party subserviency. The republic is as much imperilled as the cause of free government was in danger during the darkest days of the Revolution.

### **In Justice to Delaware.**

The following has just been handed to me by Helen H. Gardener who has had the age-of-consent campaign in charge, and we gladly give place to it in justice to Delaware:

This additional information concerning the present law in Delaware came too late for the report in the body of the magazine. Up to that time the report which came to us had not been so full as this. Wherever in the report of Delaware the figure or word fifteen occurs it should read eighteen. This law is

good so far as it goes, and particularly good because it protects boys under eighteen also, but the fact that it leaves the matter a misdemeanor which is finable and which fine has no minimum limit, and therefore might be one dollar or one day, impresses me as still leaving the matter in a defective condition, although no doubt the intention of Delaware was to remedy the matter fully and to place Delaware outside of the Black List, which no doubt will be done next time.

The following is the law as now submitted to us from Delaware:

Chap. 686, Vol. 18, Laws of Delaware. As amended in 1895.

### *An Act for the Protection of Female Children.*

Sec. 1. Whoever takes, receives, employs, harbors, or uses, or procures to be taken, received, employed, harbored, or used a male or female under the age of eighteen years for the purpose of sexual intercourse, or whoever being proprietor or proprietress of any house of prostitution or assignation, house of ill fame or assignation, harbors or employs any male or female in any such house under the age of eighteen years, under any pretext whatever, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof in the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and Jail Delivery of this State shall be fined not more than one thousand dollars or imprisoned for a term of not more than seven years or both at the discretion of the Court.

Sec. 2. The terms "house of prostitution," "reputed house of prostitution," "assignation house or house of ill fame," include all premises which by common fame or report are used for purposes of prostitution or assignation.

*Note.*—Original act passed March 29, 1889. Amended in 1895, by inserting the words "male or" and by striking out the word fifteen in the original act and inserting the word eighteen.

### **Alien Landlords.**

Last month I called attention to the remarkable editorial in the Boston Herald, showing how we are rapidly

becoming a nation of tenants. In this connection some figures which were compiled and published in the leading dailies a few months ago are interesting, as showing how rapidly alien landlords are acquiring the lands of our people since the Bank of England's gold policy has supplanted the American system of finance which prevailed during the Civil War and until the greenbacks were retired and silver was surreptitiously demonetized. Among these foreign landlords are the following: Viscount Scully, 3,000,000 acres; Marquis of Tweeddale, 1,750,000 acres; the Duke of Sutherland, 125,000 acres; Lord Dunmore, 120,000 acres; Lord Dunraven, 60,000 acres; Lord Houghton, 60,000 acres.

Here are only six of a large number of foreign capitalists who hold immense tracts of land in this country, yet the holdings of the six aristocrats of the British Islands aggregate over 5,000,000 acres of land. It is stated that over 20,000,000 acres of our country are to-day owned by landholders in England and Scotland, to say nothing of some million more acres owned by capitalists on the European continent. Surely, we are rapidly becoming "a nation of tenants," and the birthright of freedom so dearly bought by our fathers is rapidly slipping away through the lethargy and dissension among the wealth-creators and the solidarity and cunning of the acquirers of wealth.

In this connection I would quote the remarks made by Hon. John Davis in the house of representatives in November, 1893, when the Republican and Democratic papers were crying in unison, "Repeal the silver clause of the Sherman act and general prosperity will follow!" Prosperity for the bond syndicates and the usurer class did follow. These are Mr. Davis' words:

Our creditors claim that government money (which will buy more than the money we borrowed) is not good and should be destroyed; that the silver coin of the constitution is base metal, and should be discarded (except the light coins for small payments to labor). Our creditors claim that these

billions of mortgage debts must be paid in gold coin only or we must surrender our homes! And we are surrendering them in the West as fast as time can move and the courts can grind. In the East the conditions are as bad. Hon. Joseph H. Walker, of Worcester, Mass., stated on the floor of the House in May, 1892, that the farms of New England are worth about half the cost of improvements. This means that the lands go for nothing and half the improvements thrown in.

Sir, our farmers seem to be fast sinking into the condition said to have been recommended by a great eastern journal some years ago. The *New York Times* is credited with stating editorially some years ago as follows: "There seems to be but one remedy, and it must come—a change of ownership of the soil and a creation of a class of landowners on the one hand, and of tenant farmers on the other—something similar to what has long existed in the old countries of Europe."

Now, sir, since that policy is being carried out precisely—since the people of the United States are being disinherited through the advice of the Wall-street papers and the masters they serve—since the people can only remain in their homes as tenants in competition with the incoming millions of the Old World, who are content to accept life on the hardest possible terms; or if, on the other hand, we must part from our homes, friends, and loved ones, and each take his or her chances for precarious existence as medics in the great and growing army of the "overpowered"—is it not a little cruel for the robbers who seek to put us beneath their heels to brand us as "wild communists" and accuse us of being ourselves repudiators? Is not this adding insult to injury? Does it not remind one of the crack of the whip of the slave-driver who dried the tears of his victims by making their sufferings too severe to be mitigated by weeping?

Mr. Speaker, I wonder how much safer our would-be masters feel than Lord North felt prior to 1775? How much safer do they feel than King Louis felt prior to 1789? How much safer than the slaveholders of this country felt prior to 1860? Do they believe that the most patient and long-suffering people on earth have lost every sentiment of patriotism since 1776?

#### Statesmanlike Words from Illinois' Much Maligned Governor.

It is to be regretted that some of our newspapers have displayed their own

degradation by sneering at these noble, timely, and vitally true words of Governor Altgeld in closing his recent address at Chattanooga. These remarks are worthy of Jefferson. They are not the utterances of a politician, ever ready to face in any direction to gain votes or benefits, such as crowd to the front in the old political parties, which have degenerated until the chief end sought is office and the chief means reckless expenditure of money in deceiving the people:

Instead of an armed foe that we can meet on the field there is to-day an enemy that is invisible, but everywhere at work destroying our institutions; that enemy is corruption. It seeks to control the press; it seeks to direct official action; it dictates and endeavors to control the construction of laws. It seeks to set the fashions and to shape public sentiment. It has emasculated American politics and placed it on the low plane of jugglery. The tendency now is for political parties to shirk principle and follow expediency, and their platforms are often drawn to evade or to straddle every live issue. The idea is to cajole, rather than convince, to ignore great wrongs and wink at abuses, to court the support of confiding interests though it involves the deception of one or both. We are substituting office-seeking and office-holding in place of real achievement, and instead of great careers in public life we are facing a harvest of slippery, blear-eyed and empty mediocrity, which glides into oblivion without the assistance of death. To be an eligible candidate now often means to stand for nothing in particular and to represent no definite principle, but be all things to all men, and in the end be contemptible.

Thirty-four years ago the call was for men to fight an open enemy in the field; to-day our country is calling for men who will be true to republican institutions at home. Never before did this republic call so loudly as it does to-day for a good, sturdy manhood that will stand defiantly and dare to do right. For more than a decade the tendency in this country has been toward a colorless and negative dilettanteism, having the countenance of the Pharisee with the greed of the wolf, and drawing all its inspirations from the altar of concentrated and corrupting wealth. The flag has been praised with champagne dinners, while the very pole from which it floated was being eaten off by corrup-

tion, and republican institutions were being stabbed to the vitals. A new gospel has come among us, according to which it is mean to rob a henroost or steal a hen, but plundering thousands makes us gentlemen. My friends, the men of the past did their duty. Shall we do ours? They were asked to face death—you may have to face calumny and obloquy. No man ever served his country without being vilified, for all who make a profit out of injustice will be your enemies, but as sure as the heavens are high and justice is eternal, will you triumph in the end!

### How the Wealth-Creator Fares under Present Conditions.

There is a great deal of cant at the present time about the easy condition of those who own their land, and we hear much about the improvidence of working men as the chief cause of their suffering. Hence I think that the following extract from a personal letter, in which the writer, who lives in one of the western states, enclosed three dollars on his subscription to the ARENA, will be interesting to our readers. This gentleman writes:

"I will give you the history of the enclosed three dollars. Mrs. R. employed a neighbor and his wife and team to gather fourteen bushels of peaches; the two women and man were six hours getting them into his wagon; he drove them to a distant town next day and returned the following day. The enclosed is the gross return for the two and a half days of man and team and the half day of the women to gather them.

"Mrs. R. saw a man deliver a full two-horse wagon load of melons in town for two cents each; the smallest of them weighed thirty-five pounds and the largest fifty-six pounds; the load brought fifty cents. He had hauled them several miles, hence the whole day was consumed besides the labor of raising them, and he loaded them the night before so as to get an early start.

"Now do you wonder that the people do not support liberal and progressive publications as we think they should? In the first place, they cannot get the

money; and in the second place, they are in much the mental and physical condition that the blacks were in years past. Their gaze is fixed on the ground; their faces are turned downward; when they cease to toil the brain is passive or dormant; the body is exhausted as well as the brain. Thirdly, they were never trained from birth to 1895 to think for the purpose of mental improvement."

This same gentleman, later in the letter, in speaking of what might be done if the unfortunates were treated kindly, encouraged, uplifted, and educated, says: "To show what can be done I shall state what has been done here in this connection: We took in a poor girl last winter without clothes or shelter; within six months from the time we took her, having been clothed, fed and trained in the ways of labor and living in general, we put her into a good family at two dollars per week. A hundred more, men and women, with proper organization and effort could have been placed without that omnipresent god—money."

#### **The Republic as It Should Be and as It Is.**

In an address recently delivered in Boston, Rev. A. D. Mayo said:

If Ambassador Bayard was really lifted into that realm of diplomatic obscurity, where he gravely informed the English people that "it required a remarkably great man to govern the American people, and that President Cleveland was that man," he should straightway be recalled and matriculated in the class in civics in the Boston English high-school for advanced study in the constitution of American society. Even George Washington, the most statuesque figure in American statesmanship, never dreamed that he "governed" that little contentious Union of thirteen quarrelsome colonies of which he was elected the first president. And that man or that combination of men which is laboring under the fond delusion that it "governs this American people" is doomed to an awakening of large proportions.

These words set forth the condition as it should be, but let us frankly face the question and ask ourselves if the facts warrant such conclusions. Our

president has during the past three years proved himself more Hamiltonian than any executive who has ever occupied the presidential chair. Our congress, despite the enormous pressure brought to bear by capitalism, forced through an income tax. A hearing was had on the constitutionality of the act in the supreme court, but as a full bench was wanting a second vote was taken and the absent justices voted for the law in conformity to the uniform rulings of the supreme court for a century. It was suddenly discovered, however, that during the six weeks which elapsed between the hearings one of the supreme judges had experienced a change of heart, and his vote killed the bill.

There is altogether too much rain-bow-chasing among a certain class of well-meaning opportunists who do not, or will not, recognize the gravity of our present political situation. As patriotic Americans it is our duty to refuse to countenance the prophets who are crying, "All is well," at a crisis like the present. We are having altogether too much firing of sky-rockets and hurrahing and altogether too little teaching of the great *principles of human responsibility, of man's duty to man, of justice, and of equity*; too much of the tactics of the ancient patricians of Rome, who throttled the republic while the people were enjoying public shows and crying, "Long live the republic," and too little of the Sermon on the Mount. The time has come when all true friends of progress and humanity must awake, cast off the lethargy which party fealty has thrown over them, and act up to the highest and truest ideals of our age for love of the republic, for the happiness of humanity and the progress of the world.

#### **The New York Herald on the Robbery of the People by the Beef Trust.**

Below we give an admirable editorial from the New York Herald of September 22, which we commend to the serious attention of our readers:

One of the greatest principles of the



American republic is that it shall be a government not only "of the people" and "by the people," but "for the people." Therefore, when there grows up, under the protection of the law, a scheme by which the people are persistently robbed, they are forced to protect themselves by an appeal to the government. Such is the situation in relation to the trade in fresh meat—particularly in beef. A few millionaire monopolists have so manipulated the markets of this country as to control absolutely the cost of meat, not only cutting down to the lowest figures the price paid to the producer, but exacting their own terms from the long suffering consumer. As indicated in other columns of to-day's *Herald*, criminal proceedings will soon be taken against all such members of the unlawful "combine" as can be convicted. That enough of them may be punished to deter others from attempting the same extortion is a "consummation devoutly to be wished." He who robs his neighbor under the forms of law, while freely using the privileges that society provides for the honest man, is the most dangerous type of villain, and the courts should take cognizance of his villainy whenever he can be reached.

#### **The Noble Work of the Chicago Anchorage Mission.**

"Last year two hundred and forty-two different young women and men found help and situations through the Anchorage Mission of Chicago where two thousand lodgings were given," says the *New York Philanthropist*; and yet we are constantly informed that it is useless to attempt to redeem fallen women.

#### **How our Churches and Schools are Busily Engaged in Fostering the Savage in the Young.**

I find, in a recent number of the excellent little paper entitled *Our Dumb Animals*, the following from the philanthropic editor, Mr. George T. Angell:

*Armed Christian Endeavorers.*—Why not? It it's a good thing for *Sunday schools* why not for *Christian Endeavorers*? Think of a million of *Christian Endeavorers*—white endeavors and colored—armed with rifles, bayonets, swords, cannon and gatling guns—and

a great Christian Endeavor navy of ironclads, rams, and torpedoes. What a power they could bring to convert the heathen to a knowledge of Christianity! If it is a good thing for the Sunday schools, why not for the Christian Endeavorers?

Speaking of this subject reminds me of an article which appeared in the *Chicago Times*, a short time before it was purchased by Mr. Scott, from which we take the following quotations:

The United Boys' Brigade of America, composed of companies of youths organized under military discipline in the various Christian churches of the land, has just been incorporated, with headquarters in Chicago. The incorporators are the Rev. H. W. Bolton, D. D., representing the Methodists; the Rev. P. S. Henson, D. D., the Baptists; D. C. Milner, D. D., of Armour mission; John Rusk, Ph. D., of the Fullerton Avenue Presbyterian church; Rev. R. E. Morse; Frederick L. Chapman, the editor of *Ram's Horn*; Dr. Charles B. Morrell, formerly eastern secretary of the National Boys' brigade; O. L. Rickard, adjutant of the Baptist Boys' brigade, and William J. Robinson. This national organization will give added strength and purpose to the movement and will largely recruit, it is expected, the ranks of the juvenile Christian soldiers. The brigade movement has for its object the development of patriotism and piety in boys and its essential features are the drill, the study of the Bible, and missionary work. . . . It is estimated that there are now close to 1,000 companies in the United States all of which, it is hoped, will unite in this new movement, which bids fair to rival any organization of modern times in numbers and power, and it may and probably will exercise influence that cannot be ignored in the formation of the destinies of this nation.

In the *Atlanta Commercial*, August 2, 1895, I find an editorial making a protest against this fostering of the savage by holding military ideals before the minds of the young. The editor says: "Just now the public school boys as well as the Sunday school pupils are trained in the use of arms and military tactics. Why this is done does not appear. It seems to be more needful that a boy should know the number of stars upon the flag than that he should know the number of

commandments in the decalogue." The friend who sent me the editorial accompanies the same by the following:

A western clergyman reports: "Our Sunday school is prospering, the boys are doing well, but we need money to purchase muskets and side arms for the Boys' Brigade." He probably means we want instead of we need. The church if true to her divine mission, no more needs arms than the Master and His disciples needed the sword on that fatal night in Gethsemane. The ARENA is doing good work in preparing the minds of men for the day when civilized nations will no more engage in war. To this end all true reformers should look and there is much of gain in that direction. It is a crime to teach children the arts and practice of war.



#### **Sisters of Charity as Wine Sellers—A Convent competing with Saloons.**

I imagine the Catholic Total Abstinence Society, which has done such yeoman service in the cause of temperance, must have been amazed at the revelation given to the world by the New York daily papers on September 13. It will be remembered that last month we pointed out the contention between the temperance workers in the Roman church and the monks in Pennsylvania, who refused to cease to brew St. Vincent beer. But I think few of the members of that society imagined that one of their own convents was engaged in selling wine which was either raised on a vineyard owned by the order or obtained through begging as the sisters made their daily rounds; and yet such was the startling revelation which was brought to light in Brooklyn on the twelfth of September, as will be seen by the following from the New York *World* of September 13:

For the first time in the history of Brooklyn an officer of the government yesterday paid a visit to a religious institution and demanded to know by what right the sale of liquor was conducted within its walls. And, in all probability, for the first time in the history of the city a religious institution showed a government license for the sale of such liquor.

For some time past Revenue Collector John Kelley has received complaints from liquor dealers of the Sixteenth Ward that the Sisters of the Convent of St. Dominic, on Graham and Montrose avenues, were daily in the habit of retailing wine at a price far below what the liquor dealers could and that, as a result, they were being ruined by an institution they helped to support.

They complained that any morning women and children could be seen leaving the Graham-avenue entrance, carrying demijohns filled with wine. The complaint was also made that clothing was being retailed.

Yesterday morning Deputy Internal Revenue Inspector James Quinn called on the Sisters for explanation and was shown a revenue license, but no city license. The Sisters informed him that they had been in the habit of selling wine, but had not done so for several days. Inspector Quinn left, satisfied that, so far as the government was concerned, the Sisters were complying with the law. "If any action is to be taken now," he said, "it can only be by the city authorities."

The convent was visited by a *World* reporter. Mother Surplice, who since the death of Mother Superior Barth has been in charge, could not be seen, but Sister Udolia spoke for her, frequently leaving the room to take counsel from her absent superior.

Sister Udolia admitted the selling of wine, and said that the custom had been stopped for a few days. The wine, she at first said, came from a vineyard owned by the order in California, and shortly afterwards made the statement that the wine was collected by the Sisters on the rounds of charity. She admitted the visit of the "man from the government," and said that he left perfectly satisfied. Asked concerning the fact that women and children left the institution carrying demijohns, a Sister answered, "A good deal of the wine is given away."

Seven years ago, John Orr, a builder, then living at No. 355 Vernon avenue, constructed a wine cellar in the basement of the institution, 100 feet square. Golden weddings, silver weddings and receptions have been held in the large hall of the convent, and on these occasions wine has been sold.

On July 4, 1894, the golden wedding of ex-Charity Commissioner John Raber was celebrated there by a big banquet, at which the orphan girls acted as waitresses, and wine was served. The bill was afterwards paid by Mr. Raber.

During the lifetime of the late Mon-

signor May and Mother Superior Barth only grumblings were heard in the ward. Since their deaths, however, the grumblings have assumed the proportion of a storm, and the alleged violations of the excise law could no longer be overlooked.

In view of the warning of Mgr. Satolli and the action of the recent Roman Catholic Total Abstinence Convention on the brewing of beer and distilling of wine by monks, the merchants of the Sixteenth Ward, many of whom are members of the Church of the Most Holy Trinity, on Montrose avenue, adjoining the Convent and Home of St. Dominic, anxiously await whatever action may be taken by the city authorities.

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#### **How the Tories of To-day are Conquering our Sleeping Republic.**

A striking illustration of the manner in which plutocracy seeks to enslave the people through manufacturing public opinion by means of great newspapers of the day exists in the fight now being waged between the capitalists who own the *St. Louis Post-Despatch* and Editor Jones of that paper.

Mr. Jones, having proved himself one of the most successful and brilliant editors in America, was engaged by the *St. Louis Post-Despatch* under contract for five years. Being himself a strong believer in free silver, and knowing that the rank and file of the people of the country were opposed to the Bank-of-England and Wall-Street financial policy, he has stood out for honest money against the usurer class, and for this has been given his "walking ticket," says the *Boston Herald* of October 2; but the editor immediately obtained an injunction from the courts to prevent anybody from disturbing him, on the ground that he had contracted to run the paper for five years and could not be molested during that time. As plutocracy is so thoroughly "in the saddle" at the present time, it is doubtful whether Editor Jones will be able to hold his position and continue to preach the gospel of Jeffersonian Democracy in the battle against the Tories who are destroying the republic.

## NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

### The December Arena.

The December ARENA will contain papers by:

PROFESSOR RICHARD T. ELY of the University of Wisconsin.

REV. M. J. SAVAGE of Unity Church, Boston.

JUSTICE WALTER CLARK, LL. D., of the Supreme Bench of North Carolina.

HELEN H. GARDENER, the Brilliant Novelist, Essayist, and Lecturer.

PROFESSOR THOMAS E. WILL, A. M.

DR. JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, the Eminent Historian.

REV. JOHN W. CHADWICK, D. D.

*Among the Illustrations will be:*

Frontispiece, PROFESSOR RICHARD T. ELY.

Entirely new portrait photogravures of LONGFELLOW, EMERSON and WHITTIER, executed in the finest style of the art and printed on heavy coated paper.

#### *Another Interesting Feature*

of the December ARENA will be the opening chapter of WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE's powerful story of Tennessee life, entitled *The Valley Path*.

No pains, expense, or time will be spared in making the ARENA for 1896 stronger, abler, and more attractive than ever. *Beginning with the December issue the price will be reduced from \$5.00 to \$3.00 per year.* Single copies after this month will be 25 cents each.

### The November Arena.

We desire to call the attention of our readers to a few features of this number which we believe will be of special interest.

SENATOR JOHN T. MORGAN, long recognized as one of the ablest Democratic statesmen in the Republic, discusses in this issue the *Silver Question in Its Relation to the South*, in a masterly manner.

That Senator Morgan echoes the sentiments of a vast majority of the wealth-creators of the South I believe to be unquestionably true; and I believe those who are allowing themselves to be deluded by the pre-arranged chorus of the gold devotees will find a genuine surprise at the next presidential election in a union of the wealth-creating Southern and Western states despite the campaign being carried on so vigorously in the interests of Wall Street.

PROF. GEORGE D. HERRON, of Iowa College, opens his series of forceful and truly religious papers in this number with *The Sociality of Jesus' Religion*. Probably no man among Orthodox ministers of our time, certainly no young man in the West, has done so much good work in awakening the conscience of sleeping churchmen and forcing them to realize the subserviency of the church to gold and conventionalism and its faithlessness to the religion of life as enunciated by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount as Professor Herron. He has thrilled tens of thousands who are still within the church with a new hope, much as did Savonarola, when the Roman Church in Florence, and indeed throughout Italy, seemed all but completely to have surrendered itself to the lust of the flesh, the greed for gain, and the pride of life. These papers of Professor Herron will be of incalculable value to our people at the present time and will be of great interest to all thoughtful Christians.

PROF. FRANK PARSONS. It is safe to say that no discussion of municipal electric lighting has ever appeared in any review as exhaustive, authoritative, or convincing in character as the series of papers which we are giving our readers from the pen of Professor Parsons, of the Boston University School of Law. The contribution this month is exceptionally valuable. Our readers will be

pleased to learn that Professor Parsons will contribute a series of papers to the ARENA for 1896.

HELEN H. GARDENER closes her series of papers giving the history of one of the most notable, if not the most notable, campaign ever waged in the interests of higher morality. This month's contribution will be of great value to all persons interested in social purity. It is filled with thoughts of vital interest and it also is rendered still more valuable by the map made expressly for us, which shows at a glance the status of the different states, and, with the explanatory notes and the codification of the laws in the various states, gives in brief facts which represent great expense and patient and persistent work.

EX-GOVERNOR JAMES M. ASHLEY, an old-time Republican who as governor and congressman figured prominently during the stirring days when the Republican party stood for the great principles which called it into being, writes in this issue on *The Impending Political Advance*. He discusses some live problems which, considering the point of view of the author, are particularly interesting.

CHARLES RODOLF, M. D., discusses *The Unrighteousness of Government as Viewed by a Philosophical Anarchist*. This paper is dignified and thoughtful and presents the views of a man who does not believe in violence. It is unfortunate that the popular conceptions of anarchy and the ideals of men like Dr. Rodolf should be associated as one and the same in the public mind.

MARGARET B. PEEKE's paper on *Practical Occultism* closes this series of discussions by the author of "*Zenia the Vestal*." During the ensuing year we shall publish many papers dealing with psychical phenomena, occult research, and metaphysical thought, of great interest and value to those interested in this realm of investigation.

*Strolls Outside the Walls of Chester*. In this paper I have aimed to give: (1) The views held by a large body of thinking men among the bread-winners of England by reproducing in substance

the observations of the boatman who took us to Eaton Hall. I believe these views will be interesting to our readers, as they are so strikingly similar to the ideas held by hundreds of thousands if not millions of the wealth-creators of America. (2) A brief description of the country seat of the Duke of Westminster, and (3) a glimpse of the home of William E. Gladstone. The illustrations were secured in Chester and give the reader an admirable idea of the scenes described.

It is our intention to have one handsomely illustrated paper in each issue of the ARENA during the ensuing year. The January number will contain a magnificent series of illustrations on Mexico, accompanying Justice Walter Clark's first paper on our sister republic.

WILLIS MILLS, M. D., contributes to this issue a short story which should be read by every young man in the land. It is a powerful sketch dealing with the double standard of morals, by a physician.

#### **Man in His Relation to the Solar System as a Subject for Natural Research and Scientific Inquiry.**

We have the promise of a series of papers by the scholarly physician, J. Heber Smith, on the above subject for the ARENA for 1896, which we believe will attract the attention of all men and women who dare to think. Dr. Smith, in spite of the large practice he has enjoyed for many years among the most cultured families of the Back Bay District of Boston and his exacting duties as an educator, has improved,—or perhaps I should say has made time to study extensively the above fascinating theme in a scientific and critical spirit, not forgetting, however, that bigotry, prejudice, and preconceived opinions are the children of night and that true science is open-eyed and eager for knowledge however counter it may run to conventional ideas. These papers will be scholarly and scientific discussions by one especially well fitted to examine the subject in an able and thoughtful manner.



### The New Therapeutic College in San Francisco.

We learn from Professor Buchanan that steps are being taken to establish a medical college in San Francisco in which will be taught the new electro-therapeutics and new physiology established by his demonstration of the functions of the brain. It will differ in almost all respects from any college the world has yet seen—not by the exclusion or rejection of any established science, but by its large addition of new resources and new philosophy. As its methods of healing will not be confined to drugs, it will be called, not a medical but a *therapeutic* college, as its friends contend that medicines are scarcely half of our therapeutic resources. The substitution of therapeutic for medical in the new movement shows that it is revolutionary.

### The Eightieth Birthday of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Believing that the progress made by women in the last half century along philanthropic, intellectual, political, and industrial lines may be still further promoted by a more general acknowledgment of their efforts and successes, it has been decided to hold in New York City a gathering whose object shall be to give deserved recognition of past achievement and stimulation and encouragement to future endeavor. As the most appropriate occasion for such a celebration, the eightieth birthday of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton has been chosen. Her half century of pioneer work for the advancement of women makes her name the natural inspiration for such an occasion and her life the appropriate object of the congratulation and homage of the women of the world.

The celebration will take place under the auspices of the National Council of Women of the United States, every one of whose twenty societies, representing in all seven hundred thousand women, will rejoice to bring its tribute to the great woman who, in accord with the principle and practice of her life, will gladly share with other pioneers honors to which she, and her equally great co-

worker, Susan B. Anthony, have unquestioned and preëminent claim.

From their supreme interest in the enfranchisement of women, Mrs. Stanton's and Miss Anthony's ideas and influence have permeated *all* fields of progress, until these women have become the natural centre of that group of pioneers in education and philanthropy, in the professions and the industries, whom we hope to gather on this occasion. It is hoped to show to the younger generation of women, not alone the work that has been wrought by and for woman, but the world's great women workers, who, by struggle and sacrifice, have made possible that new day of truer freedom and nobler development, the dawn of which these pioneers have lived to see.

For the successful development of the plan for the reunion will be required the cordial coöperation and sympathy of individuals and organizations interested in every phase of woman's work. Not only the societies composing the Council of Women of the United States, but those fraternally affiliated, and even those quite outside, which may desire to participate in this celebration, are invited to send one or more delegates.

The celebration is to be held on Nov. 12, 1895, in the Metropolitan Opera House, in which, if it so desires, each organization can purchase a box or boxes for its own members and their friends. The names of delegates, all inquiries, correspondence, contributions, pledges for expenses, etc., should be sent to Mrs. M. L. Dickinson, 230 W. 59th Street, New York.

### A Good Child

is usually healthy, and both conditions are developed by use of proper food. The Gail Borden Eagle Brand Condensed Milk is the best infant's food; so easily prepared that improper feeding is inexcusable and unnecessary.



READ MY STORY.

### FREE TO SUFFERING WOMEN.

I suffered for years with uterine troubles, painful periods, leucorrhœa, displacements, and other irregularities, and finally found a simple, safe home treatment, that cured me without the aid of medical attendance. This is no quack doctor's medicine; but nature's own remedy for women. It costs nothing to convince yourself of its merits, for I send it free with full instructions to every suffering woman. Address, MRS. L. HUDNUT, South Bend, Ind.



Price Reduced from \$5.00 to \$3.00 Per Annum.

## PROSPECTUS OF THE ARENA FOR 1896.

*The Arena is a magazine which no person can afford to ignore if we would keep up with the struggle of the progressive party in America.—WILLIAM T. STEAD, in English "Review of Reviews."*

# The Arena,

The People's Review.  
Free, Frank, Fearless, Un-  
muzzled, and Unsubsidized.



*Recognized as the Leading Progressive, Liberal, and  
Reformative Review in the English-Speaking World.*

. . .

For 1896 will be stronger, brighter, abler, and  
more attractive than ever.



THIS Review, which one critic characterizes as "the leading literary, progressive and reformative Review published in the English-speaking world," will, during the ensuing year, be invaluable to all *people who think*, and especially indispensable to those who desire to *investigate root problems which affect civilization*.

We have perfected arrangements with leading thinkers of America and Europe which enable us to say that THE ARENA for 1896 will be absolutely indispensable to thoughtful people who love purity, who think below the surface, and who are interested in all the great fundamental

I. Social,	III. Economical,	V. Educational,	VII. Religious,
II. Ethical,	IV. Political,	VI. Scientific,	VIII. Psychical

problems which are challenging the attention of the most thoughtful minds of the world to-day. For obvious reasons, at present it is only wise or possible to make a preliminary announcement of the good things in store for our readers. We desire to state before mentioning a few of the strong attractions which will appear in early numbers, that we have arranged for many striking features which will greatly add to the intrinsic value and to the attractiveness of THE ARENA, and which will be announced from time to time.

### SOME EMINENT WRITERS WHO WILL CONTRIBUTE TO EARLY ISSUES OF THE ARENA.

Below we give a partial list of some eminent thinkers who have prepared papers for early issues of THE ARENA, in order to let our readers see how rich in interest THE ARENA will be. A number of eminent thinkers are preparing special papers which will be duly announced; but the following are among the many brilliant writers whose contributions will appear within the next three months.

UNITED STATES SENATOR JOHN T. MORGAN, of Alabama.  
 REV. MINOT J. SAVAGE, of Unity Church, Boston, Mass.  
 PROF. RICHARD T. ELY, of University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.  
 REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 PROF. FRANK PARSONS, of Boston University School of Law, Boston.  
 REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, of Boston.  
 HELEN H. GARDENER, of Boston.  
 PROF. GEORGE D. HERRON, of Iowa College.  
 HON. WALTER CLARK, LL. D., of the Supreme Bench of North Carolina.  
 REV. JOHN W. CHADWICK, D. D., of Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 POSTMASTER GENERAL WILLIAM L. WILSON.  
 PROF. JOSEPH RODES BUCHANAN, M. D.  
 JAMES G. CLARK, the people's poet.  
 UNITED STATES SENATOR MARION BUTLER, of North Carolina.  
 J. HEBER SMITH, M. D., of Boston.

### SOME SPECIAL FEATURES.

Among the important series of papers which will appear during the ensuing year, we mention the following:

#### I. The Relation of Jesus to Social Problems of To-day; by Prof. George D. Herron, of Iowa College.

A series of papers dealing with this problem, by the modern Savonarola of Protestantism.

#### II. Justice Walter Clark, LL. D., of the Supreme Bench of North Carolina, on Mexico and the Silver Question in Our Sister Republic.

A series of magnificently illustrated papers.

So many confusing statements have been made on this subject that we realize the importance of obtaining the absolute facts relating to the question, gathered by a gentleman who possesses the qualifications for weighing the pros and cons. judicially and calmly, and who enjoys the confidence of the people. We have made special arrangements with this leading American jurist to visit Mexico and give our readers the benefit of a careful survey of the question. It will be remembered that Justice Clark after honorable service on the Supreme Bench of his State so won the confidence of the people that he was reelected by the combined vote of all parties in North Carolina at the last election. These important papers will be rendered doubly attractive by fine illustrations, and will be indispensable to thoughtful people interested in the money question.

#### III. Natural Monopolies and the People.

Should the Government own the Telegraph? will be ably discussed by a number of our leading thinkers in early issues of THE ARENA, including such thinkers as Prof. Richard T. Ely, Prof. Frank Parsons, Justice Walter Clark, Postmaster-General Wilson, and Rev. Lyman Abbott. This discussion will be followed by equally able and interesting discussions on other leading problems relating to the people and natural monopolies. In this connection we desire to state that Prof. Frank Parsons, of the Faculty of the Boston University School of Law, will contribute a series of papers to THE ARENA for 1896 on the Rights and Duties of the people in regard to Municipal, State, and Government ownership of natural monopolies, which will be of great value to all thoughtful people who desire to see the era of plunder and political debauchery superseded by a democracy in something more than an empty name.

#### IV. Exhaustive Bibliographies of Vital Social, Political, and Economic Problems.

Beginning with the December issue, we have arranged to publish monthly carefully compiled bibliographies which will give our readers a complete list of the most valuable

ble works and discussions on the great questions now uppermost in the minds of social reformers. Thus, for example, the opening paper will deal with the Land Question, and will be compiled for THE ARENA by Prof. Thomas E. Will, A. M. It will be followed by an equally exhaustive bibliography dealing with the literature relating to the Swiss innovations or ideal republican measures so successfully inaugurated by the little Alpine Republic. The third will deal with the literature of Socialism. Each issue will contain carefully prepared bibliographies which will be invaluable to all students of political, social, and economic problems, and which no thoughtful man or woman of the present time can afford to be without.

#### V. Why the Wealth-Producers are Opposed to the Worship of the Golden Calf.

A series of papers of great value from America's leading statesmen and thinkers, showing why the wealth-producers are irrevocably opposed to the policy of the Bank of England and the American Tories. The opening paper of this series has been prepared by United States Senator John T. Morgan, of Alabama, and is entitled *Why the South Wants Free Silver*.

This will be followed by a historical paper exposing the conspiracy of the Wall-Street gamblers and the usurer class of Europe and America against the prosperity of the wealth-producers of America, by the most eminent and popular living American historian, Dr. John Clark Ridpath, LL.D. Senator Marion Butler, of North Carolina, and other representative statesmen who have refused to take their orders from the gamblers of Wall Street, will ably present the cause of sound and honest finance *versus* the selfish and essentially dishonest policy of the usurer class. These papers will be of great value to patriotic Americans during the momentous struggle now at hand between the Bank of England and her allies, and the home-makers and wealth-producers of the Republic.

#### VI. Thinking Women in the Arena.

THE ARENA for next year will contain papers each month from representative thinkers among our leading women on vital and fundamental issues which affect present-day life. The subject of women's enfranchisement will also be exhaustively discussed in a series of brilliant papers.

#### VII. Biographical, Historical, and Reminiscent Papers,

Dealing with great lives, thrilling passages in history, and memorable moments spent with the moulders of thought and builders of civilization by leading thinkers of America and Europe, will constitute a delightful and educational feature of THE ARENA for 1896. In this connection we desire to mention a series of striking PEN PICTURES OF THE GREAT SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CRISES OF THE CENTURY IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD, BY RICHARD J. HINTON, WITH PERSONAL REMINISCENCES.

These papers will give graphic pictures of the great Corn Law agitation in England and the triumph of the people in a surprisingly short time after all seemed hopeless. Incidentally they will contain thumb-nail sketches of Gerald Massey, Charles Mackay, John Bright, and other shining lights of that great conflict. *The Boston of the Fifties* will be another subject discussed, with pen pictures of Emerson, Phillips, Sumner, Garrison, Parker, and other leading lights of the great moral crusade for abolition. Other papers dealing with conflicts scarcely less interesting will also be features of this series. These articles will be properly illustrated.

#### VIII. The New Psychology and Psychic Research.

The progress being made in the realm of psychical science by the demonstrations of recent years made by such leading scientists as Prof. Oliver Lodge of England and other thinkers no less eminent have corroborated in a large way the claims of Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, Prof. Crookes and other pioneer psychical scientists who blazed the way in the field of psychical research. As this realm, more than any other, promises to furnish proofs which will neutralize the soul-deadening materialism of the church and society of to-day, we have ever given space to psychical research, and in 1896 purpose to publish a series of papers of special value to thoughtful men and women. Metaphysical and occult studies by eminent thinkers will also be features of THE ARENA for the coming year. A SERIES OF PAPERS OF SPECIAL INTEREST and value

has been promised by the scholarly physician, J. Heber Smith, M. D., of Boston, on Man and his relation to the Solar System as a subject for natural research and scientific inquiry.

### IX. Papers by Mr. Flower.

On the conclusion of his series of papers on "Wellsprings and Feeders of Immorality," the Editor of THE ARENA will give a series of discussions under the general heading, "Wellsprings of Life," which it is believed will be inspiring and helpful at the present crisis. Among the first papers of this series will be: I. THE POWER OF THE IMAGINATION AND THE IMPORTANCE OF HIGH IDEALS. II. THE REDEMPITIVE POWER OF LOVE. III. TRUE EDUCATION AND WHAT IT CAN ACCOMPLISH. IV. CRIME AND OUR TREATMENT OF CRIMINAL.

### X. The Battle for Higher Morality

Will be vigorously carried on, during the ensuing year, against the crying evils and crimes which are debasing and debauching our people.

### XI. Educational, Ethical, and Religious

Questions, using these terms in their broad and true sense as they relate to the development of the highest in man, the elevation of morals and the supremacy of the divine over the animal, will be presented in a masterly manner by broad-minded scholars of the new time.

### XII. Fiction.

#### A brilliant Novel by WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

A novel of great interest and strength opens in the December ARENA and will run for the first half of the year. It is entitled A VALLEY PATH and is a story of Tennessee. There will also be charming short stories and sketches in each number which will interest all members of the families into which THE ARENA goes.

### XIII. Illustrations.

The portraits of eminent thinkers with their autographs which have proved such a popular feature of this review in the past will be rendered especially attractive in the future, as our arrangements are such that the pictures will be executed with superior excellence and will prove a feature of great interest to all our readers. In addition to these portraits and autographs, we have arranged for one handsomely illustrated paper for each issue of THE ARENA.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

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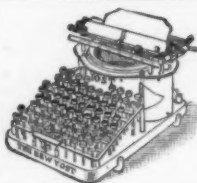
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